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Publication Number Fourteen

OF THE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Illinois State Historical Society

FOR THE YEAR 1909

Tenth Annual Meeting of the Society, Springfield, Ill.,
May 13, 14, 1909

Published by Authority of the
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ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.
STATE JOURNAL CO., STATE PRINTERS
1910

EDITORIAL NOTE.

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes, besides the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meeting, some essays and other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these "contributions to State History" may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the society's transactions. The contributions are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other documentary material. This part of the volume should supplement the more formal and extensive publication of official records in the Illinois historical collections, which are published by the trustees of the State Historical Library.

2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care; for memories and reminiscences are at their best an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.

3. Historical essays or brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based. The use of new and original material and the care with which the authorities are cited, will be one of the main factors in determining the selection of papers for publication.

4. Bibliographies.

5. Occasional reprints of books, pamphlets, or parts of books now out of print and not easily accessible.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the society shall supplement, rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the State Historical Library. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the coöperation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such coöperation and mutual undertaking that this society was organized. Teachers of history, whether in schools or colleges, are especially urged to do their part in bringing to this publication the best results of local research and historical scholarship.

In conclusion it should be said that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticism as may appear to be deserved.

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Officers and Committees of the Illinois State Historical Society, May 1909 to May 1910.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY:

President.

GEN. ALFRED ORENDORFF.....Springfield

First Vice President.

HON. CLARK E. CARR.....Galesburg

Second Vice President.

HON. SMITH D. ATKINS.....Freeport

Third Vice President.

HON. L. Y. SHERMAN.....Springfield

Board of Directors.

EDMUND JANES JAMES, President of the University of Illinois...Urbana
M. H. CHAMBERLIN.....Lebanon
HON. RICHARD YATES.....Springfield
J. H. BURNHAM.....Bloomington
EVARTS B. GREENE, University of Illinois.....Urbana
MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER.....Springfield
HON. WILLIAM H. COLLINS.....Quincy
HON. J. O. CUNNINGHAM.....Urbana
HON. ANDREW RUSSEL.....Jacksonville
GEORGE W. SMITH, Southern Illinois Normal University....Carbondale
W. T. NORTON.....Alton
HON. WILLIAM A. MEESE.....Moline
HON. JESSE A. BALDWIN.....Chicago
MR. J. W. CLINTON.....Polo
REV. C. J. ESCHMANN.....Prairie du Rocher

Secretary and Treasurer.

MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER.....Springfield

Honorary Vice Presidents.

The Presidents of Local Historical Societies.

PART I.

Record of Official Proceedings 1909.

TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SUPREME COURT ROOM, STATE CAPITOL,
SPRINGFIELD, ILL., May 13, 1909.

BUSINESS MEETING, THURSDAY, MAY 13, 1909, 10:00 A. M.

The tenth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Soeiety was held in the Supreme Court Room of the State Capitol, May 13-14, 1909.

The session opened on Thursday morning at 10:00 o'clock with the business meeting.

President Alfred Orendorff presided.

President Orendorff spoke of the progress and growth of the society, the importance of preserving the history of the State, the interest the State Historical Society and the local societies are promoting, and the influence of the Lincoln-Douglas Debate celebrations on the public in arousing their interest and enthusiasm.

The report of the secretary was read and a motion made to adopt and place it on file. Motion carried.

Mr. Russel moved that the recommendations made by the secretary in her report be referred to a committee of two.

Motion was seconded and voted upon. Carried.

President Orendorff appointed on this committee Mr. Andrew Russel and Mr. William A. Meese.

The report of the treasurer was next read and the motion to adopt and place it on file was made. Carried.

The report of the Committee on Lincoln-Douglas Debates was called for, and Col. Clark E. Carr responded. He said he had made no written report and did not know he was expected to do so, but he told how he visited the different towns where the celebrations were to be held and sought to awaken the interest of the people of those localities. He told of the plan of organization of committees in each town and the great success everywhere.

The president announced that the reports of these celebrations of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates would be published in book form.

The president next called for the reports of any local societies that might have a representative present.

Captain Burnham of Bloomington responded. He said that on account of the business before the society it would be better not to attempt a lengthy report. He also said that last year it was recommended by

the committee of their local society that they come in closer touch with the State Society by the reports of the secretary. He spoke of what the *Journal* of the Society has done as a means of bringing the local societies in closer contact with the State Society. He would submit a brief report.

President Orendorff said the request of Captain Burnham would be complied with. Moved and carried that the report of Captain Burnham be adopted.

The report of the Committee on Periodical Publication was next called for.

Mr. Russel responded, saying that the periodical that has been published is largely the work of Mrs. Weber and she should be entitled to almost all the credit.

Motion made that the report of Mr. Russel be adopted and placed on file. Motion carried.

The report of the Committee on Genealogical Affairs was next in order. It was read by Miss Georgia L. Osborne, the chairman. The report was adopted and placed on file.

The name of Prof. E. B. Greene was called to give a report on publications, but, as he was not present, Mrs. Weber said that the book was in the hands of the printer and would be a very valuable book. She said the legislative year always delayed such publications as so much time was taken up with legislative printing.

In the absence of Mrs. Matthew T. Scott, General Orendorff made a few remarks about the marking of historic spots in Illinois. He said the subject was receiving considerable attention over the State and the General Assembly had the subject under consideration and would probably make some appropriations for that purpose.

Mr. E. C. Page of DeKalb county made some remarks on the subject, telling how some people one would not think would be interested in such matters would be the very ones to go ahead and place markers at their own expense and trouble.

The president next called for reports on the subject of coöperation with libraries throughout the State.

Mr. E. S. Willcox of Peoria told of the progress they were making in their library at Peoria, and how many people came there to work on the books on genealogy and how they found material they could not find in Boston or Chicago. He said their library was second in the State, the Newberry library being the first.

The president remarked that the value of the coöperation with libraries throughout the State was that it gives a correspondent in each library that can be written to and consulted, and they are always ready to assist in anything that they can.

Colonel Carr said if there was any one present from a locality where a Lincoln-Douglas celebration had been held, that the society would like to hear from that person.

Hon. William H. Collins from Quincy responded, and told how Colonel Carr came to their town and aroused the interest of the people, how enthusiastic they became, how they spent four or five hundred dollars in

preparing for the event, the successful program, etc. He then gave an account of what the historical society at Quincy was doing. They had bought the mansion of Governor Wood and spent about $1,100 in fitting it up and collecting material and also putting up marble plates, on which are engraved names of old settlers of Adams county and Quincy. He further told what an interest the society at Quincy had taken in securing a monument to George Rogers Clark, and of their success in getting it, the location of the monument and the beauty and size of it.

Mr. Perry Ellis, of Quincy, who was in the city on business, being present, President Orendorff called upon him to make some remarks.

Mr. Ellis told of his own interest in the society and unexpected pleasure at being able to attend the meeting. He expressed his feelings toward Mr. Collins' speech, which, he said, left nothing to be said—it was like painting a lily, you could add nothing to it. He also expressed his appreciation of the work of Colonel Carr, who had done so much for their celebration of the Debates, and thanked the society and the people generally for their assistance. He concluded by saying that if he did not stop, he would become excited and would be making a speech.

Captain Burnham made a motion that a committee of five be appointed to represent the society at the dedication of the monument at Quincy. He added that he did not wish to be on that committee, as he had the honor of representing the society at the Black Hawk War monument dedication, at the Shabbona Park Monument in LaSalle county, he had represented the society at Rock Island, and went to the Fort Massac dedication last fall, and thought he had done his share.

The motion was seconded and voted upon. Carried.

Mr. Ellis arose and invited the committee to be their guests when they came to Quincy, on behalf of the G. A. R., the Chamber of Commerce, and the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Mr. Carpenter moved that the president appoint a committee of five to nominate officers. Motion put and carried.

President Orendorff appointed on this committee Mr. Carpenter, Governor Yates, Mr. Clendenin, Colonel Carr and Mr. Meese. The committee was assembled in the back part of the room.

President E. J. James then read the memorial address on Mr. George N. Black, which was prepared by Mrs. Weber, and also made a few remarks about his relations with Mr. Black, his love for him, and his loyalty to the society.

The Committee on Nominations was now ready to report. No changes were made with the exception of the nomination of a director to fill Mr. Black's place. The list of officers recommended for the year 1909 was as follows:

President, Gen. Alfred Orendorff, Springfield.
First Vice President, Col. Clark E. Carr, Galesburg.
Second Vice President, Smith D. Atkins, Freeport.
Third Vice President, Hon. L. Y. Sherman, Springfield.
Board of Directors Edmund J. James, Urbana; M. H. Chamberlin, Lebanon; J. H. Burnham, Bloomington; E. B. Greene, Urbana; Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield; Hon. William H. Collins, Quincy; Hon. J. O. Cunningham, Urbana; Hon. Andrew Russel, Jacksonville; George W. Smith, Carbon-

dale; Hon. W. T. Norton, Alton; Hon. William A. Meese, Moline; Hon. Jesse A. Baldwin, Chicago; Mr. J. W. Clinton, Polo; Rev. C. J. Eschmann, Prairie du Rocher; Hon. Richard Yates, Springfield.

Secretary and Treasurer, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield.

The vote was taken and the officers elected.

Mr. Terry Simmons of Marseilles having come in late, the president called on him for a report of his local historical society.

Mr. Simmons gave an extemporaneous report of the LaSalle county historical society, how it started, the celebration of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates and the work of the society in regard to it, what the society was doing in trying to get an appropriation for making Starved Rock and its surroundings a State park. He asked the support of the State Society for the State park measure noted.

Captain Burnham made a short talk in regard to a plan for grouping several societies together and thus securing a stronger body of workers, and these societies to be grouped with the State Society as its head.

Colonel Carr announced that the many excellent papers they had heard read at the Knox county historical society would be printed in book form.

Adjourned until 2:30 in the afternoon.

ADDRESS OF GEN. ALFRED ORENDORFF, PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

This is the tenth annual meeting, a sort of "tin wedding" celebration. The origin of the Illinois State Historical Society was in "a call issued for an Illinois Historical Society" issued ten years ago, which called a meeting of interested persons for Friday, May 19, 1899.

The call was signed by H. W. Beckwith, E. J. James and George N. Black, the trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library; Dr. J. F. Snyder, the officers of the McLean county historical society, George P. Davis, E. M. Prince and J. H. Burnham; Judge G. W. Young of Marion, William R. Sandham of Wyoming, Ill., Judge J. O. Cunningham of Urbana, and President A. S. Draper; Professors William L. Pillsbury, David Kinley, Herbert J. Barton, and E. B. Greene, all of the Illinois State University.

In response to this call there assembled on the day set in the physics' lecture-room, Engineering Hall, University of Illinois, among others, Judge H. W. Beckwith, Prof. E. J. James, Dr. J. F. Snyder, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, W. R. Sandham, George P. Davis, J. O. Cunningham, Ezra M. Prince, E. C. Page, Dr. C. T. Wyckoff, President A. S. Draper, and Professors Kinley and Greene of the University of Illinois. Judge Beckwith was made chairman of the meeting, and Professor Greene secretary.

The first annual meeting was held in Peoria at the Bradley Polytechnic Institute. Papers were given by Judge Beckwith, Hon. Richard Edwards, Dr. J. F. Snyder, J. H. Burnham, G. M. McConnel and George N. Black. Most of these speakers were the founders and pioneers of the society, to whom we owe all honor.

At the second annual meeting held at Springfield, January 30-31, 1901, the secretary reported about sixty members at the close of the first actual year of work. We now have about 800 members, including all classes of members.

The meetings have been held in Springfield, except the one of 1902 at Jacksonville, the one of 1904 at Bloomington, and the first already mentioned at Peoria.

There have been but three presidents of the society: H. W. Beckwith, J. F. Snyder and Alfred Orendorff. Prof. E. B. Greene, J. W. Putnam, J. McCan Davis and Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber have served the society as its secretaries.

There are about sixty members of the society who are members under an agreement with the Illinois Press Association, by which editors send copies of their papers to the society and in return become members of the society without further payment of dues. This has been an excellent arrangement and these members are among the most active of our field workers; they publish our notices, advertise our meetings, etc.

We have another class of members, honorary members, who reflect credit upon the society: John M. Palmer, John A. McClernand, James B. Bradwell, S. M. Cullom, Richard Yates, Charles S. Deneen, Jane Addams, and many others.

The society was recognized by the State by an amendment to the Act organizing the Illinois State Historical Library, making the society a department of the library. This amendment bore date of the Governor's approval May 16, 1903. It carried no appropriation, but authorized the library trustees to pay the necessary expenses of the society. This plan is a reversal of most plans for organization of state historical societies, and seemed to some of the members an exemplification of the old expression "the cart before the horse," but the library was already in existence and the scheme has worked fairly well, though it is not without its drawbacks. Subsequent legislatures have made small appropriations for the benefit of the society. The publications of the society are in demand, and are rated high by historians; it does reference work, advises local societies, etc.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., MAY 13, 1909.

To the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society;

GENTLEMEN—I beg to submit to you my report of the activities of the society from Jan. 30, 1908 to May 13, 1909, a period longer by four months than that embraced in former reports. This sixteen months has been one of unparalleled activity in every branch of the society's work. We have now 800 members including all classes, life, honorary, press association and active members, and they are all, I think, much interested in the work. I have been accused of taking rose colored views of the society and its prospects, but I think the most pessimistic can feel encouraged by the growth of the society for the past year, and its present prospects.

The society is now so large that I think we should hold meetings oftener than once a year, and while I fully believe that the annual meetings should be held at Springfield the home of the society, I believe we ought to assist our local societies or members by holding meetings or assisting in them, to commemorate local historic events. The aid which the society gave in the celebration of the semi-centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858, is a splendid illustration of what may be accomplished along that line. While I hardly believe or expect that any of us will live to see another such a splendid series of historical celebrations as those held in the seven debate cities, and which were attended by the President and Secretary of the society, still we can accept this success as an evidence of what concerted work can do, and as an object lesson and an evidence of how much our people are really interested in our own history. The society hopes to publish a full account of these celebrations, under the general editorship of Col. Clark E. Carr, and the special editorship, for his own town, of the chairmen in charge of the local celebrations. I have often suggested the need of a periodical, and during the last year the publication of such an organ has been begun and promises success for the future.

The amendment to our constitution changing the time of our annual meeting came on an appropriate year, because the celebration of the centennial of the birth of Abraham Lincoln was held in February, and as the society took an active part in that celebration, it in a measure

took the place of our January meeting. An account of the celebration has already been printed in the Journal of the society, and need not be repeated here. In spite of the fact that the celebration was general and wonderfully inspiring, the fact remains that the State of Illinois has not made an enduring memorial of this great historic year. It is not yet too late. Cities and associations have done their part, but the State of Illinois has done little or nothing.

The society has lost a number of its valued members by the hand of death since our last meeting, they are, as far as known to me:

George R. Baker, Chicago, March 6, 1908.
George N. Black, Springfield, April 22, 1908.
Horatio C. Burchard, Freeport, May 14, 1908.
Walter E. Carlin, Jerseyville, Ill., July 18, 1908.
Mrs. Benjamin S. Edwards, Springfield, Ill., March 18, 1909.
Dr. Richard Edwards, Bloomington, Ill., March, 1908.
Rev. J. C. Elliott, Swanwick, Ill., June 29, 1908.
Miss Catherine I. Enos, Springfield, Ill., February 8, 1909.
Dr. A. W. French, Springfield, Ill., April 27, 1909.
Dr. Marcus P. Hatfield, Chicago.
Herman Justi, Chicago.
E. B. McCagg, Chicago, August 2, 1908.
A. C. Matthews, Pittsfield, Ill., June 14, 1908.
Richard W. Mills, Jacksonville, Ill., January 18, 1908.
Ezra M. Prince, Bloomington, Ill., August 27, 1908.
Peyton Roberts, Monmouth, Ill., January 12, 1908.
H. C. Todd, Oak Park, Ill.
Mrs. Catherine G. Yates, Jacksonville, Ill., October 6, 1908.

As the society grows, naturally the number of deaths we have to report is each year larger. I again ask the members to notify the secretary of deaths of our members coming to their knowledge.

The president of the society has been very ill, and we have been much concerned about his condition, but he is happily much better, and we hope is on the road to complete recovery.

The secretary of the society as the secretary of the Fort Massac Commission, took part in the dedication of the monument at Fort Massac Park. This was one of the largest and most impressive historical meetings ever held in that section of the State. A full account of the ceremonies has been published in the Illinois State Year Book of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Bills are now pending before the General Assembly, asking protection for the sites of the frontier forts or posts, particularly Fort Chartres, Fort Russell and Fort Clark, and another proposing to constitute a commission looking toward the preservation of Starved Rock and adjacent land, and to ascertain the expediency and feasibility of preserving other historic spots in the State.

This last bill (Starved Rock) had its origin with the LaSalle County Historical Society, though the Geographic Society of Chicago is doing

all in its power to advance it. This is a worthy and important work for the historical interests of the State, and I beg to offer a plea for the Great Cahokia or Monk's Mound, which is being neglected. This is one of the most wonderful archaeological relics in the country, and archaeologists from other states, do not understand our ignorance of, or indifference to this important historic pyramid, which is exposed to disintegration and other dangers of obliteration. The preservation of this mound is a great work, and it is before us. We must face it. What can we do about it?

Historical activities are increasing in all parts of the State, and we may surely claim a share in awakening this interest. The reference work in the library increases at the same rate, and we try to meet it, though it often means many additional hours of labor.

There are now in press, published by the Library Board under title of Vol. 4 of the Illinois Historical Collections, the official letters and papers of the first four governors of Illinois: Bond, Coles, Edwards and Reynolds. This work is edited by Prof. E. B. Greene, which insures its value. No. 5 of the same series will be the Kaskaskia Records, a companion or complement to the Cahokia Records and edited by Mr. C. W. Alvord.

Professor J. A. James is still at work upon the George Rogers Clark papers, which will in time be published in the same series, and will probably make three volumes.

There are also plans for other publications. The demand for the publications is very great, and most of them are out of print. It is to be regretted that we cannot supply them to new members. I am still urging our members to assist in the collection of manuscripts and other historical material.

A circular letter was published in the Journal enumerating the kinds of material which we desire. Our committees have, as a rule, done exceptionally good work this year, and will report upon their own activities.

The work of the Library and Society progresses. This year large purchases of books and pictures relating to Mr. Lincoln have been made and we have made long strides in our genealogical collection. We are now subscribing to nearly all of the current American periodicals, as we found that we were often missing excellent historical articles, by failing to procure the magazines.

We are in very crowded quarters, but as the appropriations asked for by the various interests were so large, the directors of the society have not made concerted efforts toward a new building. Two bills have been introduced with such an object in view, but as it is so late in the session, it is not likely that they will be passed, although there is no question as to their merit.

The society is growing in all its branches, and we have concluded a most successful year.

Very respectfully,

JESSIE PALMER WEBER.

Secretary Illinois State Historical Society.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY.

RECEIPTS.		
Balance on hand from 1908		$ 14 55
Amount received from dues of members of the society, 1908		365 00
Total receipts		$379 55
EXPENDITURES.		
Expenses of Mr. Horace White	$77 75	
Expenses of Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson	18 00	
Maldener & Son, supplies	38 50	
R. L. Berry, supplies	4 00	
E. Saltzenstein, carriages furnished speakers	6 00	
R. A. Guest, services	10 00	
Annie G. Springer, stenographer	2 00	
Bell Miller, supplies	19 50	
Grace Fish, services	5 00	
Vernor Henshie, services	3 50	
Springfield Gas Light Co.	88	
Springfield Transfer Co., services	2 50	
Connelley & Co., supplies	3 00	
Programs	16 20	
Postage	27 00	
Total expenditures		233 83
Balance		$145 72

DIRECTORS' MEETINGS.

The Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met in the secretary's office on Thursday morning, May 13, 1909, at 9:30 o'clock.

There were present:

President Alfred Orendorff, who presided, Messrs. Burnham, Cunningham, Collins, Russel, Meese and the secretary of the society, Mrs. Weber.

The secretary's report was offered, read and accepted. It was directed that it be read in the business meeting of the society. The report of the treasurer was read and accepted, and it was directed that it be read in the business meeting of the society.

Mr. Russel moved that the financial year of the society run with the dates of the annual meeting, that is from one meeting to the next. This motion was carried.

The meeting then adjourned to meet later during the session of the annual meeting.

The Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society Met Friday Noon, May 14, 1909.

The newly elected directors of the society, organized by the election of President Alfred Orendorff, as chairman of the board, and Jessie Palmer Weber as secretary and treasurer.

There were present: Messrs. Russel, Meese, Clinton, Cunningham, Mrs. Weber and President Orendorff, officers re-elected.

The question of the sale of the publications of the society was discussed, but no decision was reached and the matter was postponed for further consideration.

Captain Burnham spoke on local historical societies in the State, and asked that his former report be omitted.

Mr. Meese reported that he had received from the Hon. Frank O. Lowden an offer of a gift of $750.00, for the purpose of marking the route of Lincoln's army from Beardstown to the Rock river country. It was moved that this offer be reported to the society.

It was moved that Hon. Walter B. Douglas, Miss Cora A. Benneson, and Hon. C. M. Burton, distinguished persons from other states who have come to this annual meeting to give papers and addresses before the society, be recommended to the society for honorary membership in the society. This motion was voted upon and carried.

A special committee on the periodical was appointed, consisting of Andrew Russel, J. H. Burnham, Jessie Palmer Weber, and the president of the society. Captain Burnham moved and Judge Cunningham seconded the motion, that a special committee to plan some work along the line of State archaeological investigation be appointed. This motion was carried. Mr. Russell spoke of Professor Udden of Augustana College as a person who might give assistance along this line.

Mr. Russel moved that the salary of the secretary of the society be $600.00 per annum instead of $500.00 as in the past year. This motion was seconded and carried.

A special committee, Mr. Russel and Mrs. Weber, were appointed to procure a suitable sign to have placed over the door of the library rooms, carrying the name of both the historical society and the library.

The following committees were named for the ensuing year:

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

Evarts B. Greene, University of Illinois, Urbana, Chairman.

Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield.
J. McCan Davis, Springfield.
Geo. A. Dupuy, Chicago.
C. W. Alvord, Urbana.
M. H. Chamberlin, Lebanon.
Geo. W. Smith, Carbondale.
Stephen L. Spear, Springfield.
John L. Cooper, Fairfield.
Walter Colyer, Albion.
Mrs. Harry Ainsworth, Moline.
Judge Farlin Q. Ball, Chicago.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio*.

PROGRAM COMMITTEE.

Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield, Chairman.

J. H. Burnham, Bloomington.
J. A. James, Evanston.
E. S. Willcox, Peoria.
Wm. A. Meese, Moline.
Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, Chicago.
Mrs. Catherine Goss Wheeler, Springfield.
Paul Selby, Chicago.
Charles P. Kane, Springfield.
F. J. Heinl, Jacksonville.
Charles H. Rammelkamp, Jacksonville.
Logan Hay, Springfield.
Clinton L. Conkling, Springfield.
Wm. G. Edens, Chicago.
Mrs. Martha K. Baxter, Pawnee.
Prof. J. H. Collins, Springfield.
Chas. G. Dawes, Evanston.
Mrs. Geo. H. Davidson, Oak Park.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio*.

FINANCE AND AUDITING COMMITTEE.

M. H. Chamberlin, Lebanon, Chairman.

E. J. James, Urbana.
Andrew Russel, Jacksonville.
Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio*.

COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION.

M. H. Chamberlin, Lebanon, Chairman.

E. J. James, Urbana.
E. A. Snively, Springfield.
O. F. Berry, Carthage.
Samuel Alschuler, Aurora.
R. V. Carpenter, Belvidere.
Henry McCormick, Normal.
Andrew Russel, Jacksonville.
Charles E. Hull, Salem.
R. S. Tuthill, Chicago.
Lee F. English, Chicago.
Prof. David Felmley, Normal.
U. A. Harker, Champaign.
Campbell S. Hearn, Quincy.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio*.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO MARK ROUTE OF LINCOLN'S ARMY TRAIL FROM BEARDSTOWN TO MOUTH OF ROCK RIVER.

Wm. A. Meese, Moline, Chairman.

Robert H. Garm, Beardstown.
John S. Bagby, Rushville.
Dr. T. W. Burrows, Ottawa.
Henry S. Dixon, Dixon, Ill.
O. M. Dickerson, Western Illinois Normal School, Macomb.
Luke Dickerman, Stillman Valley.

COMMITTEE ON LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

J. H. Burnham, Bloomington, Chairman.

J. Seymour Currey, Evanston.
George W. Smith, Carbondale.
Elliot Callender, Peoria.
J. O. Cunningham, Urbana.
Mrs. Charles A. Webster, Galesburg.
Horace Hull, Ottawa.
Mrs. Mary Turner Carriel, Jacksonville.
L. J. Freese, Eureka.
Gen. John I. Rinaker, Carlinville.
J. W. Clinton, Polo.
J. J. McInerney, Alton.
Miss Louise Maertz, Quincy.
Emil Mannhardt, Chicago.
J. Nick Perrin, Belleville.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio*.

COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP.

Judge J Otis Humphrey, Springfield, Chairman.

W. H. Stennett, Oak Park.
Charles L. Capen, Bloomington.
Daniel Berry, M. D., Carmi.
John M. Rapp, Fairfield.
Mrs. C. C. Brown, Springfield.
Wm. Jayne, M. D., Springfield.
Geo. E. Dawson, Chicago.
A. W. Crawford, Hillsboro.
Mrs. E. M. Bacon, Decatur.
Mrs. I. G. Miller, Springfield.
Wm. F. Fowler, Aurora.
R. H. Aishton, Evanston.
Andrew L. Anderson, Lincoln.
Sumner S. Anderson, Charleston.
Smith D. Atkins, Freeport.
Miss Alta Baltzell, Centralia.
S. W. Baxter, East St. Louis.
Mrs. Inez J. Bender, Monticello.
Charles Bent, Morrison.
Mrs. Geo. D. Tunnicliff, Macomb.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio*.

COMMITTEE ON THE MARKING OF HISTORIC SITES IN ILLINOIS.

Mrs. M. T. Scott, Bloomington, Chairman.

Harry Ainsworth, Moline.
Francis G. Blair, Springfield.
John E. Miller, East St. Louis.
J. S. Little, Rushville.
J. H. Collins, Springfield.
Charles B. Campbell, Kankakee.
Miss Lottie E. Jones, Danville.
Mrs. LeRoy Bacchus, Springfield.
Terry Simmons, Marseilles.
H. S. Hicks, Rockford.
Miss Sarah M. Gough, El Paso.
Clarence Griggs, Ottawa.
Lewis M. Gross, Sycamore.
Mrs. Lee J. Hubble, Monmouth.
C. F. Gunther, Chicago.
Miss Ada D. Harmon, Glenn Ellyn.
John H. Hauberg, Moline.
J. W. Houston, Berwick.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio.*

COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY AND GENEALOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

Miss Georgia L. Osborne, Springfield, Chairman.

Mrs. E. S. Walker, Springfield.
Mrs. Thomas Worthington, Jacksonville.
Mrs. John C. Ames, Streator.
Miss May Latham, Lincoln.
Mrs. G. K. Hall, Springfield.
Mrs. E. G. Crabbe, Corpus Christi, Texas.
Norman G. Flagg, Moro.
Rev. Chas. W. Leffingwell, Knoxville.
Richard V. Carpenter, Belvidere.
Oliver R. Williamson, Chicago.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio.*

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE PUBLICATION OF THE JOURNAL OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Andrew Russel, Jacksonville, Chairman.

Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield.
J. H. Burnham, Bloomington,
J. McCan Davis, Springfield.
Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio.*

There being no further business presented, the meeting of the Board of Directors adjourned.

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, DEC. 2, 1909, AT 10:00 O'CLOCK A. M.

The Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met in the room of the secretary of the society on the morning of Dec. 2, 1909, at 10:00 o'clock. There were present:

Messrs. Burnham, Chamberlin, Smith, Norton, Russell, Weber, Eschmann, and by invitation Dr. O. L. Schmidt, and a little later in the morning President E. J. James came into the meeting for a short time.

Dr. Chamberlin was asked to preside.

Resolutions were presented and passed upon the death of Gen. Orendorff, late president of the society.

The secretary read a telegram from Col. Clark E. Carr, the acting president, stating that he was on the way from his home in Galesburg, but had been delayed on the way and would arrive later in the day, which he did. The question of the publication of the periodical of the society, the Journal, was discussed. The secretary said that an attempt

had been made to follow the style of the Iowa Journal, but that it was proving very expensive. Prof. Geo. W. Smith, Captain Burnham, Mr. Russel and others spoke of the fine appearance of the magazine. Professor Smith moved, and it was seconded by Father Eschmann, voted upon and carried, that the Secretary is hereby directed to continue the magazine in its present style, and to endeavor to keep up its present standard. The secretary spoke of the difficulty of procuring suitable material for the magazine. This matter was discussed at length. Professor Smith moved, seconded by Captain Burnham that the secretary be elected editor-in-chief of the magazine, with power to select four or five associate editors, and that the names of the editorial staff appear in each number of the magazine.

It was moved, and the motion was voted upon and carried, that County Historical Societies be called upon to make contributions to the Journal. Captain Burnham spoke at length upon the need of an active committee on archaeology. Plans were discussed as to securing aid and coöperation from the new State Park Commission in the preservation of historic spots in the State.

The directors desire that Dr. Snyder be chairman of the committee on archaeology if he will accept it, and the secretary and Captain Burnham were asked to find out from Dr. Snyder whether or not he will

ERRATUM PAGE 25.

Camp *Douglas* near Springfield page 25 should read camp *Butler* near Springfield

in some manner.

It was voted that the secretary be authorized to ask some competent person to prepare and read at the coming annual meeting, an address on the life and character of Gen. Alfred Orendorff, the late president of the society. There being no further business presented, the meeting adjourned.

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H. S. Hicks, Rockford.
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Mrs. Lee J. Hubble, Monmouth.
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Alfred Orendorff, *ex officio*.

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The directors desire that Dr. Snyder be chairman of the committee on archaeology if he will accept it, and the secretary and Captain Burnham were asked to find out from Dr. Snyder, whether or not he will accept the chairmanship of the committee.

Professor Smith asked if maps of historic spots in the State were to be procured, containing descriptions of camps, drains, etc.

Mr. W. T. Norton was asked to contribute a paper on old Fort Belle Fontaine.

It was suggested that the society ought to have a paper on Camp Douglas near Springfield. It was decided that Mr. Lincoln Dubois of Springfield be asked to prepare such a paper for the annual meeting of the society.

It was decided that the secretary call the attention of the State Park Commission to the Great Cahokia Mound in the south part of Madison county, and that the suggestion be made that such historic spots or sites, camps, forts, etc., not suitable or available for State parks be marked in some manner.

It was voted that the secretary be authorized to ask some competent person to prepare and read at the coming annual meeting, an address on the life and character of Gen. Alfred Orendorff, the late president of the society. There being no further business presented, the meeting adjourned.

REPORT OF COMMITTEES.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY AND GENEALOGICAL PUBLICATIONS, ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 13, 1909.

To the Officers and Members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

Your Committee on Genealogy and Genealogical Publications begs leave to report as follows:

There has been a steadily increasing interest in this department of the society's work. As an evidence of this we point to the hearty coöperation of this committee, with the chairman of the Program Committee, in securing for this annual meeting of the society a valuable paper on Genealogy and the West, by Mrs. Harriet Taylor of the Newberry Library, Chicago, which library has one of the largest genealogical collections in the west.

We have recently published in the *Journal* of the society, for July-August, 1908, a partial list of some of our rarest and best works on genealogy. Since this publication was issued, we have added quite a number of valuable publications along this line, namely, the South Carolina Historical Collections, and their Historical and Genealogical Magazine; the Georgia Historical Collections; the Annals of Augusta County, Va.; History of Albemarle County, Va.; Hayden's Virginia Genealogies; the Colonial Virginia Register, which contains a list of governors, councillors and other higher officials, and the members of the House of Burgesses from 1619-1776, and the Revolutionary Conventions of the Colony of Virginia; Historical Collections of Georgia by Rev. George White, published in 1854. Additions also have been made to our Pennsylvania Archives, Pennsylvania in the Revolution, 1775-1783; names of persons who took the oath of allegiance to the state of Pennsylvania, 1776-1794.

As a large percentage of the population of central and southern Illinois is comprised of families of either Virginia, Kentucky or Carolina ancestry, a large part of our work has been along these lines. We have been trying to secure all available material on these states.

As yet we have not succeeded in securing the works on genealogy from the State Library; we have not given up the idea, however, but think at some future time this can be accomplished. As the libraries are now situated on the same floor in the capitol building, when it is necessary to use a work which is in the State Library, we refer our students to that department, and they can avail themselves of its resources without great inconvenience.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,
Chairman Committee on Genealogy and Genealogical Publications.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE PERIODICAL PUBLICATION OF THE SOCIETY.

At the 1908 annual meeting of the society it was decided to begin the publication of a periodical by the society, and a committee was appointed for that purpose.

This committee consisted of Mr. Andrew Russel, Capt. J. H. Burnham, the president and the secretary, and it now begs to report to the society that it has performed the duties assigned to it, and with pride it begs to refer you to the result of its labors.

Its members feel that they have made a creditable beginning and they beg that the members express their opinions and wishes as to the future work of the *Journal.*

The beginnings of the venture were small, but we feel that the fact that the society actually has an organ is a great step forward. The *Journal* is issued quarterly, and we hope that each number will be an improvement upon the ones preceding it.

We have with the April *Journal* begun the second volume, and we beg for communications from the members upon matters of historical interest, such as the celebration of historical anniversaries, notices of books by Illinois authors, or about Illinois persons, places or events, or information as to the deaths of members of the society.

The committee acknowledges its indebtedness to Dr. J. F. Snyder for much assistance, kindly and helpful advice and valuable contributions, without which it could hardly have achieved so great a measure of success. The articles of Dr. Snyder on Illinois Archæology are valuable contributions to that neglected branch of Illinois history.

They have received high praise from competent critics, and they are in request by persons who are interested in archæology.

The third paper of the series will be published in the July number of the *Journal.* We hope the members of the society approve of the plan of the *Journal,* are pleased with its improved appearance and interested in its future.

Respectfully,

ANDREW RUSSEL,
J. H. BURNHAM,
ALFRED ORENDORFF,
JESSIE PALMER WEBER.

REPORT OF COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE KNOX COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDING JANUARY 16, 1909.

The annual report of an organization which has held but one regular meeting in the twelve months succeeding the last annual meeting, that of January 23, 1908, need not be lengthy or tiresome.

Certain events of the past year, however, in connection with which the officers and members of this society have borne an important part, deserve especial mention.

The year 1908 is distinguished as having been the fiftieth anniversary of the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates, one of which, and one of the most important of which, from a political and historical standpoint, was held in Galesburg.

The date of the debate in Galesburg was Oct. 7, 1858; the place, the Knox college campus, and the speakers occupied a platform which was erected on the east side of the building now designated as "Old Main."

The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of this event by Knox college and the city of Galesburg, on the same day of the month, and upon the same spot upon which the debate occurred, marks the year as, historically, the most important in the annals of Galesburg, with the exception perhaps of the year of the great debate, a half century ago.

Your president, Colonel Carr, as chairman-at-large of the committees promoting these celebrations at different points throughout the State where the debates occurred and who, as general promoter, was himself largely responsible for their conspicuous success; your vice president, Mr. Shumway, as mayor of Galesburg, bearing his share of responsibility in the carrying out of the very successful celebration in this city; and your secretary, as the medium of the historical society, in furnishing valuable information and material to the daily papers for their souvenir editions of that date, have each contributed in no small degree to the making up of history, as it concerns our city and our county during this eventful year.

Nor have their efforts been entirely without compensation, for not only was it their pleasure to share, with others, in the interest and pleasure of the notable occasion, but by thus sharing in it they have helped to secure much valuable historical material for the archives of this society.

At the beginning of the campaign for the making up of the souvenir editions of the daily papers, your secretary was frequently and persistently interviewed for such historical data and incident as might be produced by reference to her own private collection, and to the contents of our historical library, which, meagre though it may be, is each year becoming more valuable.

The favor of a ready response to these repeated demands upon the time and strength of a busy woman was granted, upon the condition that whatever of new material might be gathered in following out the lines of research suggested by your secretary, should revert to the historical society whenever it had served its purpose in making up the special editions of the daily papers.

In this way much material which will be of great value to the future historians of Galesburg and Knox county is now preserved in our library. Not only were the photographs and prints of historic personages and places turned over to us, but many negatives, some of which had not been printed, came into our possession.

In ready response to the suggestion of your secretary, Mr. Wagoner of the Mail Printing Company also gave into the custody of the society the plates and photographs used by himself in his valuable historical numbers of the *Week's Review*.

Your secretary would urgently and earnestly recommend that, *now*, with these added materials in hand, and with the memory of the year's notable events freshly and vividly in mind, immediate, definite and determined effort should be made to preserve these materials, and the memories connected with them, which are but too rapidly vanishing, in some permanent form as a history of our community. Only a few of those remain who have seen, and have been a factor in the events which have made up the history of Galesburg since its beginning.

During the year your secretary has preserved, as heretofore, newspaper clippings relating to persons and events which make up our current history, and which, thus preserved, will sometime become a valuable contribution to the history of the past.

Two manuscripts have been added to our collection during the year. The one, a copy of the original preserved in the State Historical Library in Springfield, and written by the lamented Mary Allen West in 1872, who, had she but lived, would undoubtedly have served as the Galesburg historian for whom we are now looking. The manuscript is entitled "How Galesburg Grew," and was evidently written for some public anniversary occasion in our city.

The other manuscript embodies the address delivered by Mr. Ray M. Arnold on the occasion of the first observance of Knox-Galesburg day last September, in which he reviews the history of the town, the college and the church and pays a high tribute to the founders.

Both of these papers will be of service to our future historian.

An old volume has also been added to our collection whose imprint bears the date 1833 and the place of publication New Haven, Conn. Its somewhat unique history as a book is a matter of interest. During last

spring an old house on Waters street was remodeled. Fifty years ago, from 1856 to 1858, the house was occupied by Dr. Edward Beecher, then pastor of the church which worshipped in the building now known as Beecher chapel.

When tearing out one of the partitions of this house the workmen found a little book which had slipped down between the walls.

It is a book of Sunday evening lectures, delivered in his church in New Haven by Dr. Leonard Bacon, one of the most famous divines of the past century. Upon the fly-leaf is the inscription, scarcely legible, "Rev. Edward Beecher, from the author, Leonard Bacon."

The book came into the possession of Dr. G. S. Chalmers, and he kindly presented it to the historical society, and should receive our thanks.

Such souvenirs of the Lincoln-Douglas celebration as could be secured have been preserved by your secretary. They include a window hanger advertising the event, a program issued by the People's Trust and Savings Bank, and buttons bearing pictures of the two men, which were sold upon the street.

Great effort was made to secure the official badge, program and invitation, but without success.

We have received very few relics during the past months, probably on account of the infrequency of our meetings. The public naturally loses sight and knowledge of an organization which does not make itself manifest. So far as the secretary is informed, the old carriage reach,* mentioned in the Minutes of the May meeting, is the only recent addition to our collection of relics.

The typewritten records of the society up to date of the last annual meeting have been made secure in a permanent binding for the purpose of preservation and reference.

Your secretary wishes to express her deep obligation to Mr. S. A. Wagoner for valuable assistance rendered by him in identifying and labeling the photographs and negatives to which reference has been made. Without his assistance many of them would have been entirely without historical value to us.

This completes the year's summary and the report is respectfully submitted.

MARTHA FARNHAM-WEBSTER,
Secretary Knox County Historical Society.

Annual meeting, January 16, 1909.

* From carriage in which Lincoln rode from Knoxville to Galesburg on the morning of Oct. 7, 1858.

REPORT OF THE LA SALLE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Yesterday, too briefly for its real importance, I advocated county and then township organization of historical societies. There should be such a society in every county of the State, and to bring it about ought to be not only the pleasure, but the duty of the parent body, the State society. This can be done by a competent, persistent committee, through a well compiled, printed folder, stating purpose and great need of preserving past and present making of history, for in the rush of to-day it is but a breath from the actual now to the past. In such a folder outline a plan of organization, and add a form of constitution and by-laws. Be earnest, intense in suggestion, giving popularity to the movement. Make of county organization a "fad" if no other plan that is feasible wins. Time will bring about the better and wiser, more true and lasting.

Since 1876 I have been the publisher of the Marseilles Plaindealer, and have bound files of it to date. To me these files are of very great value, in fact they are not for sale at any price. Not to be selfish and believing that my readers should partake with me in the past of local history published, I very carefully and thoroughly compiled from these bound volumes a "Quarter Century History of Marseilles." Making the type up into pages of usual book size, and numbering each consecutively, an installment was printed week by week in my paper, making it possible for the readers to cut them out and paste in a scrap book, thus having the whole history, when done. If any other publisher in this or other states has done this, I have yet to know of it. Somehow the secretary of the State society heard of what had been done and wrote to me, asking for a copy of the production for preservation. I could not spare the file of papers with the book pages in, nor yet the one pasted "scrap book" I had made up. To refuse the request of the secretary was a hard task, but no other recourse remained. Let me add that in time, in some form of publication, it is my intention to bring that local history up to date.

Your only historians are your newspapers, as nearly reliable as it is possible to be in the whirl of today, and, anyhow, away ahead in accuracy of the histories based on rumor or memory productions which evolve one thing today and another and mayhap totally different tomorrow.

As helpful in society organization let me quote from an address I made at the annual meeting of the Manlius-Rutland Township Historical Society of which I am president, prefacing it by stating that the purpose of the township society is to begin a systematic collection of the first things in the two townships, such as manuscripts, letters, photos,

printed sketches, etc.; these will include from start to date village presidents, city mayors, postmasters, ministers, station agents, editors, school principals and superintendents, bankers, physicians, etc. Also all who have attained prominence politically and otherwise. These will be filed at the public library at present for safety. All interested are asked to assist the historians in their work of preservation.

ANNUAL ADDRESS.

Feb. 13, 1908, the two township historical societies of Rutland and Manlius were each one year old. An auxilliary of the county society, with no dues except the one dollar for membership and one dollar annually paid to the county society, the members have attended as best they could the quarterly meetings at Ottawa of the parent body. Such as have done this can but feel amply repaid for the time spent, and have more fully realized the great need of preserving history for the influence it exerts towards the welfare of those now living, and those to come as time goes on. Only through comparison can progress be determined. What of helpfulness the careers of those preceding us may give, we certainly need and in turn we are alike answerable to those who succeed us. Failure of the past to preserve records need not be repeated by us.

Your president has done what he could by attendance, suggestion and addresses, to build up the county society, and is grateful for the appreciation it has brought him. At its first annual meeting those present felt that the year gone by had been an encouraging one, and that the outlook for the new year was excellent. It will be well for our township societies to aid in all possible ways to maintain this interest not only, but increase it, for growth only is evidence of life worthy of mention.

In view of the coming half century celebration at Ottawa of the Lincoln and Douglas debate, which is to take place Aug. 21, 1908, our societies should do their part in getting out to it all now living in the two townships who were at the original debate. Let us make a showing to be proud of, as we hope every other township will also do. It means very much to have been of the number on that eventful day so long ago, and what it brought of association with the greatest man of our magnificent country. The heroes of our nation are not kings in name or nature, but there is a kingship in what they stand for, and it is to this, no homage too great can be paid. Abraham Lincoln, in the flesh, was but mortal like you and I, but the principles he stood for are undying, he was but another form of old glory, the flag essentially but cloth, but in what it means of life and liberty for all who own allegiance to it, mighty in significance.

The erection of a county historical building at Ottawa, with contributions to its cost from the county as a whole, is advocated and urged. It may take some time to awaken the interest to attain this result, but in the meanwhile it is possible for each township to begin the preservation of historical matters, for without these individual collections, a county one would be of but limited interest. Photos of persons, places and incidents, old letters, deeds, early bibles, books, and the like, once lost or destroyed, can never be regained. These should be given to some

one reliable in the township, and be by him carefully placed for safe keeping, the public library, where there is one, being a most suitable place. Once so deposited they belong, of right, to the whole people of the community. As a part of their duties our township historians should make these collections in person not only, but urge others to bring them to them. One most convenient means of preservation is to clip all items from the county papers of a historical nature, file away and paste in a book for reference, always of course seeing that as far as possible they have a local bearing on the community for which they are being secured.

It is essentially the mission of our township societies to partake in, and encourage all public doings of a historical nature. These come in when those within public notice have in any way or at any time been a part of the life of our townships. One distinct feature in this regard is the home coming now so justly popular in many sections. It is well to recall what has been a part of the life of our communities and what part in the honor of the outside world those who have lived their lives in other sections now occupy.

Township, county and State historical societies are all links in the chain of the life we live, each the greater only as the other is greater. In preserving history each must do his part. Do yours and you will have the satisfaction of reaping what of local reward it offers not only, but the influence it cannot fail to exert on the people of other townships within the county.

In view of the excellent paper on "Genealogy and the West," by Mrs. Harriet Taylor, of the Newberry Library, Chicago, the close of Mr. Simmons' address has a more forcible application. He said:

"A speaker at a recent banquet maintained that ancestry has little to do in shaping one's life, perhaps intending only to refer in such connection to the life of Lincoln, whose ancestry is conceded to have foreshadowed but faintly the great life the emancipator lived. If such a statement be true, how intensely it narrows the average career of a parent, and how it falsifies that oft quoted poet when he said, 'It is not all of life to live, or all of death to die.' If the achievements of a parent are to end at his death, so far as those of his flesh are concerned, he is answerable in this life largely only to self, is that far but a few degrees removed from the animal. Aspiration, hopes, desire that in his children he may live again in a betterment of existence, that his struggles to climb upward and achieve will be only those of his so short life, the incidents of but a passing breath, are chilled and killed if ancestry is but delusive in the shaping of life.

What is all history but a record of the deeds of our ancestry, and do they play no part in our lives? Lincoln's was an isolated experience, if we narrow the influences of ancestry to those of his parents only, but in his career culminated the heroic and everlasting right principles of the ages as lived in the best men of the era to which they belonged; in him the great Creator designed that their expression should see the light. Thus truthfully regarded, well may we say, 'Oh; for the ancestry of a Lincoln.'"

PART II.

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting, 1909.

EFFORTS TO DIVORCE JUDICIAL ELECTIONS FROM POLITICS IN ILLINOIS.

By Oliver A. Harker.

A court is a tribunal established for the public administration of justice, and composed of one or more judges who sit for that purpose at fixed times and places, attended by proper officers. While its organization and power to act depend upon constitutional provision and legislative enactment, it is wisely provided that when organized, it shall exercise its functions over the parties and subject matter before it, free from interference by the executive or legislative departments of government. It is the exclusive depository of all judicial powers. Legislation must provide the means for bringing judicial questions before the courts, the compensation of their officers, the expenses of their sessions and the places for holding them. It may, within constitutional authorization provide what jurisdiction the different courts may exercise. In some states the chief executive, also, by virtue of his appointive power, may be required to act, and in some instances he may, by virtue of his police and military power, be called upon to aid and protect the courts. But as to how the courts shall deal with and decide the question before them, neither the legislature nor the governor shall have a voice. The independence of the judiciary, national and state, has ever been the pride of a liberty loving and peace desiring people,. and every attempted encroachment upon it by other departments of government has been looked upon with alarm. It is the glory of the English constitution to have led in establishing this most important principle. It did not exist in England prior to the Revolution of 1688, and its introduction gave new character to the courts.

History is replete with the evils experienced in that country from judges depending upon the will and favor of the crown. When the destruction of chartered rights was attempted by Charles the Second, and his brother after him, the mode was by judgments obtained in the courts. After the prosecution against the city of London to secure a forfeiture of its charter had been commenced, and while it was pending, the judges were changed. Saunders, who had been consulted, and had advised the proceeding on the part of the crown, was made chief justice for the very purpose of giving judgment in favor of the crown, his predecessor being removed to make place for him. The cause for the proceeding was the making of scandalous reflections on the king in the petition against the prorogation of parliament in 1679. It was in vain that the advocates for the city argued, that even if the facts complained

of were punishable, the persons who had committed them should be punished and not the innocent corporation. The judges were the mere tools of the crown, and judgment was given "that the franchise and liberty of the city of London should be taken and seized into the king's hands." What had succeeded in London was tried all over the kingdom. *Quo Warrantos* were issued in abundance; through judgments of the courts, presided over by dependent and time-serving judges, cities were deprived of their charters, and citizens of their liberties, until the abuse became the leading factor in the Revolution of 1688. English judicature then took on a new character. The judges became independent, and that independence has been the pride and the boast of the Englishman ever since.

That justice was administered by judges dependent on the will of the British crown, was a prominent topic of complaint in the American Colonies for years before the Revolution. The Declaration of Independence set forth as a prominent grievance, and one justifying the Revolution, that the British king "had made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices." It was but natural, therefore, when they had secured their independence, that the states, in the establishment of their own governments should make the independence of the judiciary a prominent feature. Some of them made greater, and other less provision upon the subject. But as new states were admitted and the growth of the old ones increased, as the nation advanced in population, wealth, and industrial development, as problems of political, commercial and social life became enlarged and more complicated, the safeguards about the courts became stronger and more numerous. A comparison of the older constitutions with the newer will show the constantly growing desire of the people to keep the departments of government as distinct as possible, and to impose restraints designed to have that effect. Because of the peculiar nature of our government, state and national, it has been necessary to impose greater restraints upon the legislative than upon the executive department. The tendency of legislation is to augment the power of that department in its relation to the judiciary. Composed of a large number of men, the most of them professional politicians, in constant contact with their constituents, it necessarily carries along with it the force of public opinion. It would seem apparent then that without constitutional restraint, fixed and certain, such department, in times of excitement would be able to encroach on the judiciary. Then it is, that a security of judicial independence becomes necessary.

The first section of article I. of the Constitution of 1818 provided that the power of the government of the State should be divided into three distinct departments and each of them confided to a separate body of magistracy, to wit: Those which are legislative to one; those which are executive to another; and those which are judiciary to another. And by the next section it was provided that "no person or collection of persons, being one of those departments," should exercise any power properly belonging to either of the others except as in the Constitution

directed or permitted. In the Constitution of 1848 there is the same distribution of governmental powers, and, with the exception of one word, which does not alter the meaning, in the same identical language.

There is a substantial embodiment of these two sections in article III. of the present Constitution which reads as follows: "The powers of the government of this State are divided into three distinct departments: the legislative, executive and judicial; and no persons, being one of these departments, shall exercise any of the powers properly belonging to the others, except as hereinafter expressly directed or permitted."

I crave indulgence for this somewhat lengthy introduction to the subject of this paper. Its purpose has been to show what has been and what is now the public temper upon the proposition of keeping matters judicial aloof from matters legislative and executive—from matters political.

I hope, also, that I may be pardoned for seeming digression if I, in addition to narrating some of the most conspicuous efforts which, from time to time, have been made to divorce judicial elections from politics, shall volunteer personal views which seem to justify those efforts.

In this connection we shall use the term politics in its popular sense—the management of a political party and the advancement of its candidates to office. We all understand the primary meaning of the term to be "the science of government; that part of ethics which has to do with the regulation and government of a nation or state, the preservation of its safety, peace and prosperity; the defense of its existence and rights against foreign control, the augmentation of its strength and resources and the protection of its citizens in their rights, with the preservation and improvement of their morals." But it is in no such sense that I use it in this paper.

At the time Illinois was admitted as a State, and for the first ten years of its existence as such, political maneuver enjoyed its greatest feasts and accomplished its greatest feats. The Constitution provided that the judicial power of the State should be invested in one Supreme court and such inferior courts as the Legislature should, from time to time, establish. It provided that the Supreme court should consist of one chief justice and three associates, all to be appointed by joint ballot of both branches of the General Assembly. In addition to discharging the duties of an appellate court of review the judges were required to hold circuit court, there being no circuit judges. They were to hold office during good behavior until the end of the session of the General Assembly in 1824. After that date judges of the Supreme court were to be given a life tenure of office, subject to good behavior. When we take into account the office seeking mania of the period, the mad passion which rushed men into the whirlpool of politics and the unique method provided by the Constitution for filling the judgeships can we wonder that of the four first judges of the Supreme court only one was at all fitted for judicial work? Two of them although admitted to the bar were without legal attainment. They were machine politicians pure and simple. The other man, William T. Foster, was a political adventurer of polished manners, pleasing address and unbounded assurance.

He was not admitted to the bar and had never studied law; but so skillful was he as a political manipulator that he succeeded in capturing one of the highest judicial offices in the State. He absented himself from the court and never considered a case, either in bank or upon the circuit. The only service performed by him was to draw one year's salary and resign. Joseph Phillips, the only one of the four fitted for the position, was a man of strong native ability and a lawyer of superior attainment. But he was a politician, well versed in the arts of the game. There is not an entire revolution wrought in the mind of the politician by making him judge. He is still a politician, and if he find but little to do as a judge he will find more to occupy him as a politician. At that time the business of the courts was light. There was but little for the judges to do on the circuit and consequently less for them to do as a Supreme court. Judge Phillips found plenty of time for politics and a field with abundant possibilities for a man of his shrewdness and attainments. He was not idle. An ambition to become governor seized him, and soon after his induction to the high office of chief justice he began "laying wires" for a nomination for governor. He was successful to that end and within four years after receiving his commission resigned as judge, under the firm belief that he would be elected governor. In that he was disappointed, however. The idea of the modern political judge to hold fast to his judgeship until after his election to the other office evidently did not occur to him. To his associate, Judge Thomas C. Brown, also a candidate for governor at the same time, it did; because he carried on his canvass without resigning and when the two were defeated at the polls by Governor Coles, he was able to go back to his courts. The pattern set by him is scrupulously followed by the judge who today goes in quest of another office. This was the last venture made by Judge Brown for a political office, but he was reappointed judge by the General Assembly the year following and continued in that office until the Constitution of 1848 made it elective by the people. He was a man of moderate ability and scant legal attainment. He delivered no opinion upon any important question and did nothing worthy of note on the bench or as a member of the council of revision. But his "pull" with the Legislature was such as to secure his reappointment in 1825 and a retention of the office when an effort was made, in 1843, to have him removed for incompetency.

John Reynolds, the other member of the first Supreme court was one of the most adroit politicians of his day. He came to the office when but 30 years of age. Although a man of strong intellect he was a lawyer of small attainment. There was in him the material for a good lawyer and an able judge; but legal investigation and study did not appeal to him. He wanted the office of Supreme judge because of the prominence it gave him and not because of any love he had for the work. He was the superior of any political manipulator of that time. From 1818 to 1848 he held more offices and of greater variety than any man who has ever held office in the State. To use his own expression there were few offices in sight that he did not "go for." Able to forget political differences and mistreatment, he was ever ready to make terms with his

political enemies, even if it required him "to break" with those who had been his political friends. Selfish and grasping in the attainment of his ambition, gratitude for past favors had no influence with him when in the scales against prospective political advancement. In a word, he was a past master in political maneuver and for that reason attained the office of governor in 1830.

Such was the character of the men who composed our first Supreme court. If it was the purpose of the framers of the Constitution of 1818 in making the office appointive by the Legislature instead of elective by the people to take the selection of judges out of politics then the record shows a signal failure. For the thirty years during which that method of selection obtained more politicians were placed upon the Supreme bench than have been elected to it during the sixty years which have followed. Furthermore, those selected by the former method seem to have continued in the game while those elected since have, with rare exception, been so impressed with the dignity and responsibility of the office that they have refrained from further participation in political activities.

The Constitution of 1818 required the judges of the Supreme court to hold circuit court in the several counties of the State until 1825, but authorized the appointment of circuit judges at that time. So in that year the General Assembly created five circuits and appointed five circuit judges. At the next session, however, four of them were legislated out of office, and the remaining one, with the members of the Supreme court, performed the circuit court work of the State until 1835, when an Act was passed providing for eight circuit judges. By an Act passed February 10, 1841, all the circuit judges were legislated out of office. The Constitution authorized an increase of the number of Supreme judges, and the same Act which abolished the circuit judges added five more judges to the Supreme court and required the nine to do the circuit court work of the State, in addition to holding the Supreme court.

The facts and causes of this change are somewhat interesting and serve to show how potent politics was at that time in its relation to matters judicial. They serve to show, also, as I think, that that method of selecting judges is not satisfactory.

The election of Harrison to the Presidency in 1840 and the triumph of the Whig party in national affairs, with the prospective loss of federal offices in the State, caused great bitterness among the Democrats of Illinois. They were in control of the Legislature, however, the Senate standing 26 Democrats to 14 Whigs; the House, 51 Democrats to 40 Whigs. The Supreme court stood 3 Whigs to 1 Democrat. It had decided two cases in which the Democratic party was interested. To the Democrats the decisions were offensive. To change the political complexion of the court was determined upon. It could not be accomplished by impeachment, for two reasons: the Democratic majority was not sufficient, and there were no grounds on which impeachment could be based. Under the Constitution they were subject to removal for any reasonable cause not sufficient for impeachment, but to effect a removal

in that way required a two-thirds majority of each branch of the General Assembly, and that the Democrats did not have. But their ingenuity was equal to the occasion. A bill was introduced to reorganize the judiciary by which the eight circuit judges were to be legislated out of office and provision made for the appointment by the Legislature of five additional judges of the Supreme court, who, together with the four existing members, should hold the circuit courts. The bill provoked bitter discussion which lasted for weeks, its passage being opposed not only by the Whigs but by a few of the Democrats. Naturally, the circuit judges, who were to be decapitated by it, were opposed to its passage and their friends in the Legislature started a campaign to accomplish its defeat. But the four Democratic circuit judges were won over by promises to appoint them Supreme judges in the event of the bill becoming a law. The bill finally passed and, although returned with objections by the council of revision, it was ratified by a majority of one vote in the House. The five additional judges elected were: Thomas Ford, Sidney Breese, Walter B. Scates, Samuel H. Treat and Stephen A. Douglas, all Democrats. The political complexion of the court then stood 6 Democrats to 3 Whigs.

Although the five selected were men of transcendent ability and all of them, with the possible exception of Douglas, eminently fitted for judicial work, the high-handed means by which the selection was accomplished so shocked the public conscience that it called forth bitter denunciation from all parts of the State. Governor Ford, although he owed his election to the Supreme bench to the law, a few years afterwards characterized the action of the Legislature in passing it as "a confessedly violent and somewhat revolutionary measure which could never have succeeded except in times of great political excitement." It did more than all else to render unpopular the provision of the Constitution relating to the judiciary. Democrats united with Whigs in demanding a change that would take from the politicians the right to name the judges. The temper of the people upon this matter was a potent factor in securing the Constitution of 1848.

With the adoption of the Constitution of 1848 departed, never to return, it is to be hoped, the right of the Legislature to elect the judges. It may be regarded as the greatest of all efforts that have been made in the direction of divorcing politics from judicial elections. And yet there are those who think the old method superior to the present and profess to believe that we would have better judges and a more satisfactory administration of the laws if the selection were left to the Legislature rather than to the people. In addition to the concrete cases mentioned, which serve to show that the method when put in operation is not satisfactory, I think it unwise and wrong on principle. One of the chief objects of written constitutions is to keep the departments of government as distinct as possible, and for that they impose restraints designed to have that effect. It will be conceded that there is no department on which it is more necessary to impose restraints than the Legislature. At the same time the other departments are in one sense dependent upon it. The Legislature holds the purse strings. It fixes the compensation

of the judges and of the officials in all other departments. It provides all the means for raising revenue. In a word, the judges, with the other public officials, are at the mercy of the Legislature so far as relates to physical sustenance. And yet the judges in a conscientious discharge of duty are sometimes brought in conflict with the Legislature. The Constitution, being the supreme law of the State, it follows that every Act of the Legislature contrary to it must be void. The decision of whether it is void rests with the court. The judge is under oath to decide according to the Constitution. Any Act inconsistent with the Constitution must yield to it; and any judge seeing the inconsistency, and yet giving effect to the law would violate his oath. The power of passing upon the validity of legislative Acts, to be useful, must be lodged in independent hands. Evidently it is not, if it rests with those who are dependent upon the Legislature for their appointment and who are subject to removal by the same body for a cause not sufficient as a ground for impeachment.

There is another view of the matter. Nothing is more important to the individual citizen than an honest administration of justice. To that he must look for protection to life, liberty, reputation and property. No state does its duty to its people that does not make ample and permanent provision for the exercise of that protection. That the State of Illinois has undertaken to do in the establishment of its courts for trial and appeal. It is but fair then that he should have a direct voice in the selection of the men who are to preside over the courts and through their machinery administer that protection.

The framers of the Constitution of 1848 had in mind not only the taking of the election of the judges out of the hands of the politicians but the keeping of the judges out of politics. Not only did they provide for the election of the three Supreme judges and the nine circuit judges by vote of the people but they made the following additional provision, "The judges of the Supreme and circuit courts shall not be eligible to any other office of public trust or profit in the State, or the United States, during the term for which they are elected, nor for one year thereafter. All votes for either of them for any elective office (except that of judge of the Supreme or circuit court) given by the General Assembly or by the people shall be void." Because of it the judges were precluded from becoming candidates for United States Senator or any other political office during the term for which they had been elected—the Supreme judges for nine years, the circuit judges for six years. It is to be regretted that the Constitution of 1870 does not contain a like provision. It was also provided that the election for judges should be held at a different time from that provided for other elections. The purpose was to prevent the judicial office from being used as an article of traffic in political conventions. The date fixed was June—a time of the year when the public mind is least agitated by politics and less influenced by political questions.

The various constitutional provisions mentioned serve to show how the unseemly political activity of the early judges, and the scandalous action of the General Assembly of 1840-41 to change the political

complexion of the Supreme court, wrought upon the public mind. Nothing short of a reform involving a complete reorganization of the entire judicial system could satisfy it.

The framers of the Constitution of 1870 do not seem to have been so deeply impressed with the importance of the matter as those who framed the second Constitution; for while they continued the provision requiring the judges to be elected and the one requiring the election to be in June they refused to embody the one precluding the judges of the Supreme and circuit courts from any other office during the term for which they had been elected.

Slight effort has been made through legislative enactments to keep judicial elections from politics. This is not to be wondered at. The Legislature is composed largely of professional politicians, and with the politician "To the victor belong the spoils" is a potent consideration. There are instances where judicial apportionment Acts have been passed solely for the purpose of advancing political interests, as I shall show later. The people at large and the bar of the State have been the guards of the judiciary in the assaults and the attempted assaults against it by the politicians.

The people have never taken kindly to mixing matters political with matters judicial. Evidence of that may be found in the fact that during the entire period when the Constitution of 1848 was in force two of the three Supreme court judges were Democrats, although for the most of that period the State was Republican. The Constitution of 1870 provided for the election of seven Supreme court judges. From 1870 to 1888, although the State was largely Republican, five of the seven judges were Democrats. For a period of twenty-seven years Judge Alfred M. Craig, a Democrat, was the judge from the fifth district although the district was largely Republican. In 1888 David J. Baker, a Republican, was elected from the first district in the face of an aggregate Democratic majority of the counties of the district in the Presidential election immediately preceding of over five thousand. His election followed a heated Democratic convention in which five or six prominent Democrats of Southern Illinois sought the nomination. The nomination was sought and made on strictly political lines.

Where political tactics have been resorted to to secure the nomination of a candidate for judge the people have not hesitated to repudiate it, especially if the defeated candidate was a worthy man. In 1894 at a Democratic convention called to nominate a candidate for Supreme judge in the fourth district one of the ablest jurists of the State, Judge Lyman Lacey, was presented as a candidate. He had had fifteen years' experience upon the appellate bench and was a man of unquestioned integrity and of great vigor mentally and physically. He was well equipped in every way to the discharge of the duties of the office to which his friends undertook to nominate him. There were a number of other aspirants; the politicians had control of the convention, and Lacey was defeated. The district was overwhelmingly Democratic, but so displeased were the people with the manipulation of affairs at the convention that a large number of Democrats refused to vote for the nominee and voted for the

Republican candidate, Joseph N. Carter. Carter was elected. The district was composed of the counties of Fulton, McDonough, Hancock, Schuyler, Brown, Menard, Morgan, Cass, Scott, Adams, Pike and Mason. These counties constituted the district until 1903. At that time there was a good working Republican majority in the General Assembly. A scheme was put on foot to change the political complexion of the district and to accomplish that a bill was passed taking the Democratic counties of Pike and Scott out of the district and adding to it Rock Island, Mercer, Warren and Henderson. The change made by the enactment gave the Republicans a decided majority in the district. The evident purpose of the Act was to secure the reëlection of Judge Carter. Judge Carter, a man of high character and with a record upon the Supreme bench of which any man might feel proud, became the nominee of his party. But the people felt so incensed at the action of the Legislature that many of them repudiated the nomination and Judge Guy C. Scott, a Democrat, was elected in his stead.

Another evidence of the desire of the people to keep politics out of judicial elections may be found in elections for circuit judges. When the Appellate Court Act of 1877 combined the old twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth circuits and made it the first judicial circuit of the State the territory was Democratic, but at the election held in August, 1877, John Dougherty, a Republican, defeated Andrew J. Duff for circuit judge. In the same circuit, two years following, the Democrats with a majority of 700 held a convention and nominated three judges on strictly party lines. The Republicans made no nomination but three Republicans were presented at the polls for election. Two of the Republicans were elected, the one receiving the lowest vote having a majority of about 700 over the highest defeated Democratic candidate. One Democratic candidate was elected by a majority of about 700 over the defeated Republican candidate.

Notwithstanding the fact that for the greater portion of the time within the last thirty-two years the political complexion of the third circuit has been decidedly Republican, Democrats, with one exception, have been the judges during the entire time. Other instances could be given in proof of the proposition, but the limits of this paper will not permit.

Considerable effort has been made to take party politics out of judicial elections through the various local bar associations of the State. The Chicago Bar Association has been the most conspicuous in its efforts along that line.

So far as I have been able to learn, the first substantial attempt of the members of the Chicago Bar to act in a body with regard to the election of judges took place twenty-three or twenty-four years ago. Very poor nominations by the Republicans and Democrats had been made at that time and considerable feeling was aroused. A general bar meeting was called to consider the matter. A large committee was appointed to select candidates to be voted for at a general bar primary. It was directed to select a considerable number of men quite largely

exceeding the number of judges to be elected. The movement excited considerable interest, and from the candidates then selected the judges were subsequently elected by the people. Encouraged by the result, the Bar Association subsequently took up the subject and from time to time bar primaries have been held. For a number of years the association has had a subcommittee when a judicial election was to occur, charged with the duty of learning quite fully as to the standing and qualifications of candidates. An opportunity has been given to the members to cast a secret ballot after being furnished with such information, and the members may be said to have voted according to their best judgment without being confined to either one of the political parties. A choice thus made has had considerable influence with the people, as it has had with the metropolitan press. The number of judges to be elected in Cook county has made it more difficult than elsewhere in the State to get the desired information as to the character, standing and qualification of candidates, and more special efforts to advise the voters are necessary than is the case in the country where the lawyers in each circuit presented as candidates are likely to be well known. The fact that there are so many of such places to be filled and that a large number of persons present themselves or are taken up by party leaders makes it more probable there than in the country that partisan politics will, notwithstanding the efforts of the Bar Association and the influence of the press, be a strong factor in the election, especially when there is anything approaching a full vote.

There has been a disposition in Cook county as in other parts of the State to retain in office the judges who have from service obtained the approbation of the bar, the public and the press. This disposition has been such as to insure reëlection in the absence of a tidal wave of politics, likely to submerge any candidate not attached in some way to the prevailing party. Such was the case with the late Judges Gary and Tuley. These men, though of opposite party affiliation, were sure of election at any time they were offered. It is doubtful whether any condition at a June election could have existed sufficient to work their defeat. Judge Henry M. Shepherd, another popular judge, although a Democrat, was supported the last time he stood for election by both Republicans and Democrats.

The Chicago Bar Association is entitled to much credit for its efforts to elect judges free from political obligation. It is to be hoped that it will ultimately occupy a position as influential as that of the Municipal Voters' League, and, by its influence on the independent voter, compel the party primaries to name suitable candidates.

THE WINTER OF THE DEEP SNOW.

By Eleanor Atkinson.

Very recently the Federal Weather Bureau published a compilation of official and other meteorological data of the United States, for the half-century ended with 1904. This table disposes of the theory of old-fashioned winters, at least within that period. A Chicago newspaper that gave a summary of this report, commented upon it as follows: "As to what happened in the way of weather more than fifty years ago, cold science is ill-equipped to combat warm fable. Here the fields for picturesque contrasts is free."

In the face of this discouragement, it is proposed to show here, both by reliable data and by cold science, that we had a real old-fashioned winter in 1831—the kind your grandfathers all had when they were boys and, as evidence of good faith, I will begin by using a bit of information supplied by the Federal Weather Bureau, and vouched for by the Smithsonian Institution.

Semi-official weather records were kept at Marietta, Ohio, from 1804 to 1859, for the United States Government Survey office. After 1823, observations of temperature were made three times a day by Dr. Samuel P. Hildreth, together with notes on the barometer, precipitation, direction and velocity of wind and other phenomena. These reports Dr. Hildreth tabulated and published annually, for many years, in the American Journal of Science, and they were finally charted and republished in the Smithsonian Institution's "Contributions to Knowledge." The mean temperature of the winter months of 1831, at Marietta, was 30.75, and for February was 26.02, five to six degrees lower than the average for the quarter of a century preceding. The precipitation of rain and melted snow for the year was 53.54 inches, the average for the previous 25 years being only 41 inches.[1] Under date of Feb. 15, 1831, occurs this interesting entry:

"The winter thus far has been one of unexampled severity since the first settlement of the Ohio Company at Marietta in 1788. The thermometer has been for a number of mornings at zero, and once or twice 5 degrees below, since the 22d of December last. The great snow storm, which seems to have visited the entire length of the United States, commenced here on Friday, the 14th of January, 1831, at 4:00 o'clock, P. M. and continued until Saturday, 11:00 o'clock A. M. There fell 15 inches in depth of snow, very level and even over the face of the earth.

[1] Dr. Samuel P. Hildreth; Pioneer History of the Ohio Valley.

In 1832, the following summary of the year 1831, is recorded: Depth of snow in 1831, 48 inches. The past year has been marked with many singular features, and the extremes in moisture and temperature have been great. The winter months were attended with a degree of cold found only in Artic regions, and the summer months with floods of rain peculiar to tropical climates. There seems to have been a belt of clouds encircling the Western States for the last six months, opening at such distant periods, and for such short spaces of time, to the rays of the sun, that solar heat, since the great eclipse of February last, has done but little warming the surface of the earth."[1]

With this to fortify, one may, without apology, plunge into "warm fable," saving the cold science to clinch the argument. In the course of researches on another subject of the same period in Illinois, so many tall tales of experiences in the winter of the deep snow were encountered, as to excite curiosity. The references to this exceptional season were so many and so widely scattered in locality, as to proclude the idea of a conspiracy of invention by old settlers, and so consistent in dates and data, as to carry some measure of conviction. To carry this conviction to a critical public, however, it was necessary to reject everything anonymous, everything unsupported or of obscure origin and of vague generalization. That a season of unusual severity had occured in 1831, admitted of no further doubt, when detailed facts were found to have been set down soberly by a man of the conservative character and trained powers of observation of Dr. Julian M. Sturtevant, for more than 20 years, president of Illinois College in Jacksonville.[2] Nor was he likely to exaggerate from inexperience of cold and storm. Having been brought up in New England, where long, severe winters were the rule, and where the practical disposal of great depths of snow had been reduced to a science, it would take extraordinary weather conditions indeed, to baffle his powers of solution and to test his endurance.

Dr. Sturtevant came out to Jacksonville in the Spring of 1829, to begin the erection of college buildings, to find a prosperous town of 400 people, on an elevated knoll above a beautiful prairie. The hill-site chosen for the new institution of learning was above the village and a mile away, with a grove of forest trees behind it. The people were mostly southerners, and their log cabins, while substantial and neat, were much less warmly built than the houses of New England. For comparison with the historic winter of 1831, Dr. Sturtevant had the experience of a typical winter of Southern Illinois in 1830.

For the first time in his life he saw cattle pastured in the open the greater part of the season, with little or no shelter provided for them; wheat and corn standing in stacks in the fields, to be husked and threshed at leisure; fuel left in the woods, to be brought out as it was needed. In the memory of the oldest inhabitant the winters in that region had been uniformly mild and open—the grass fairly abundant until

[1] American Journal of Science for 1831-32.
[2] Autobiography of Julian M. Sturtevant, pp.178-181; C. M. Eames quotes Dr. Sturtevant and a Mr. Anderson Foreman to the same effect in his "Historic Morgan and Classic Jacksonville."

January; then light falls of snow, an occasional storm with zero temperature that moderated in a few days; thaws to start the pastures, and early springs.

In 1830 winter set in unusually early. Cold rain began to fall by the 20th of December,—Dr. Hildreth dates it from the 22d, in Marietta—occasionally changing to snow or sleet, until the earth was saturated and frozen. The day before Christmas the rain turned definitely to snow, falling in large, soft flakes that soon covered the earth to the depth of 6 inches. The most was made of this by the young people in holiday frolics of snow-balling, coasting and riding in hastily contrived bob-sleds. The wildest imagination could not have dreamed that this first fall of snow was merely the overture to a winter of continuous storm. The first white mantle still lay unsullied on the frozen prairie, in a profound hush of nature, when the meteorological opera opened with a crash on the 30th of December.

A furious gale, bitter cold, a blinding, swirling blur of snow, and leaden, lowering skies, combined to make this storm a thing to paralyze that prairie country. It seems to have continued for days, unabated—a wonder, at first, then a terror, a benumbing horror as it became a menace to life of men and animals. The food was in the fields, the fuel in the woods, the cattle huddled and perishing of cold and starvation, in the open. How long this first storm continued is unknown. In one sense it did not end at all; it merely changed in character, from time to time, for the next sixty days. All accounts of the winter in Illinois agree with Dr. Sturtevant's that the storm began in the last days of December. The date was impressed upon his mind by anxiety for the fate of Dr. Edward Beecher.

This first president of the new college had been in Vandalia, trying to get a charter for the institution from the legislature. He was returning from the capital in the Christmas holidays, when overtaken by this storm. Dr. Beecher, with a fellow traveler, Mr. Charles Holmes, took refuge for some days in the house of a settler on the prairie. When the storm abated its first fury, it seemed impossible to cover the remaining distance of 40 miles to Jacksonville, for the snow lay 3 feet in depth over the prairie. It seems probable, from the depth of snow, that they were detained until after the storm of January 14 and 15 which, as Dr. Hildreth reports, had visited the entire length of the United States. A driving rain, freezing as it fell, formed a crust on top of this snow, not quite strong enough to bear a man's weight. On top of this crust 3 more inches of snow fell, as light and fine as ashes and as hard as sand. Then a bright, cold sun shone on the dazzling landscape, to threaten the eyesight. To add to these difficulties a strong, northwest wind arose, to fill the air with flying snow, so stinging, blinding and choking that men could not long make headway against it. But Dr. Beecher was reared on Litchfield hill, Connecticut, and was not easily dismayed by weather. He and Mr. Holmes hitched a horse to a light, improvised sleigh and, in some incredible way, accomplished the perilous task of crossing that 40 mile prairie, where the horse broke every step through

ice-crust and 3 feet of snow, and in the face of the blizzard. There is no record of any other men having performed such a feat in Illinois, that winter. That many must have attempted such journeys and perished, is proven by the finding of the bodies of strangers in many places when the snow went off in the spring.

In Jacksonville Dr. Sturtevant had been forced to abandon his cabin in the town and to camp out in one of the unfinished college buildings. There Dr. Beecher was forced to remain with him until March, when he returned to Boston. And the two, with other New Englanders in the place, gave of all their experience to help the marooned settlement battle with the elements. It was impossible to break roads in the New England fashion. There were no traps of ravines and forests, few fences, even, to catch and hold the drifts. The wind was a steady, fierce gale, day and night, for many weeks, and the snow drifted before it all winter. It snowed almost daily, up to the middle of February. Often it was not easy to determine whether new snow was falling or only old surface snow being driven before the icy blast. For nine weeks snow covered the ground to the average depth of four feet. No morning dawned for many days at a time when the thermometer registered less than 12 degrees below zero.

"The situation of the people," says Dr. Sturtevant, "was somewhat alarming. It was not at first apparent that sufficient food and fuel could be got to keep everybody from starving and freezing." The shocks of grain were entirely under frozen snow, the lower limbs of trees were lying on the surface, making it impossible to drive teams into the groves. A road was finally made from College Hill to the town, by driving repeatedly through one track until the snow was rounded up and packed down like a turnpike. Such roads were opened all over the country and were kept open only by ceaseless vigilance and labor. Food and fuel were got, somehow; famishing deer and small game were easily obtained, but crops were lost, much of the live stock perished, and many kinds of small game were very nearly exterminated. Mail was interrupted for weeks at a time, carriers being unable to make the trip to Springfield.

In Sangamon county experiences of pioneers were identical. In Springfield[1] and New Salem[2] snow lay four feet in depth on the level. There was the same ice-crust; the same incessant, biting gale; the daily fresh falls of snow; the deer breaking through the crust with their sharp, bounding little hoofs and falling easy victims to hunters, wolves and dogs. It took a man an entire day to dig enough corn out of frozen shocks to keep a few cattle alive for two or three days. Stake-and-rider fences, corn shocks, low out buildings were buried; streams could be traced only by half submerged and snow-burdened lines of woods. All the familiar features of the landscape were obliterated in that smother and blur of snow. It was beyond human power to do more than to keep at bay the twin spectres of cold and starvation. Many and ingenious are the devices described to ward away freezing and famine.

One cannot but admire the scholarly detachment and stoic self-control of the newspapers of Illinois of that day. Statecraft was the thing of permanent interest—speeches by Webster and Clay, political moves by

[1] Powers' "Early Settlers of Sangamon County," pp. 62-64.
[2] T. G. Onstot's "Pioneers of Mason and Menard."

General Jackson, continued to engage the editorial mind. Weather was a thing that today is, and tomorrow is cast into the limbo of things forgotten. The entire country had been in the grip of that pitiless winter for two months, before the *Illinois Intelligencer* of Vandalia, condescended to notice it. Then, in an editorial paragraph of two sticks full of type, the subject was summed up and dismissed:

"The newspapers that reach us from every direction, are filled with accounts of severely cold weather, and immense falls of snow. In no part of the continent has this been felt more severely than in Illinois. We have had an extraordinary season. The cold has been intense and uninterrupted. The whole country has been blocked up with snowbanks, that have covered the earth since December. Several travelers have perished on the prairies near here. Such a winter has never been known in this region."[1]

The Edwardsville *Advocate* shows a still greater restraint of style, an economy of adjectives that is commended to our yellow press: "We have issued no paper for the last two weeks, owing to the excessively cold weather, and our office being too open to resist the rude attacks of the northern blasts."[2] It was a relief to discover, in Missouri, a newspaper that betrayed interest, if not excitement, in that phenomenal weather. But now for northern Illinois.

Eighteen Thirty-one, it should be remembered, was the year before the Black Hawk War. Chicago was only a frontier fort and trading post, whose first newspaper did not appear until nearly three years later. The region between the Desplaines river and the Mississippi was held by the Sacs and Foxes, and the only permanent white settler appears to have been John Dixon, at Dixon's Ferry, on Rock river. The mining town of Galena had communication with the outer world only over the Mississippi. In southern Wisconsin, at the point that is now Portage City, Ft. Winnebago was encompassed by the wilderness. But for the circumstances that there was, at Ft. Winnebago, a somewhat willful little lady, recently come from the east as the bride of John H. Kinzie, United States Indian agent at the post, and determined on a visit to her unknown mother-in-law in Chicago, the record of that winter and spring in northern Illinois would be meager, indeed. The bride took the journey, and lived to tell of the dangers she had passed through; to tell of them in the lifetime of people who shared its perils; to tell the story graphically, for she had the gift of literary expression. Juliette M. Kinzie was Chicago's first author, and some of us trail a long way behind her "Wau Bun" today. So much for the authenticity of this account.[3]

The continuation of the wedding journey was planned for the Christmas holidays. But in Wisconsin, too, winter set in early and with severity. There was rain and wind and snow; then sleet and bitter cold and snow again. The storm of December 30 must have fallen on the frontier fort with greater fury than it did farther south, for early in January the snow was reported to lie five and six feet deep in the lead

[1] Illinois Intelligence of Vandalia, Feb. 26, 1831.
[2] Edwardsville Advocate, Feb. 23, 1831.
[3] "*Wau Bun*" by Juliette Magill Kinzie, pp. 123-135.

mining regions—an unheard of, unbelievable depth. The mail-carrier and dispatch-bearer to Chicago, had to lie over in an Indian lodge on the prairie for three weeks, and went nearly blind from the sun and flying snow.

Young Mrs. Kinzie had all the pluck of inexperience. She insisted on making the start to Chicago, in sledges lined with buffalo robes; but the commanding officer of the fort flatly forbade any such foolish undertaking threatening, at last, that if they started he would order the sentinels to fire on them. The station was storm bound all winter. Early in March the snow suddenly went off in a great flood. By the 8th the marshes and water courses were fringed with green, promising an early and genial spring. The start was made on horseback, with servants, an Indian guide, and a camping outfit on pack ponies. The journey to Chicago was usually made in five or six days; but it was necessary to go out of the way, somewhat, to cross the Rock river at Dixon's Ferry, for the Indians were all gone on the hunt, and there would be no canoes at the usual crossings. Young Mrs. Kinzie consented to wear a habit of heavy military broadcloth, but kept her kid gloves, and blithely donned the latest confection in straw bonnets, a part of her wedding finery.

The first day a canoe was upset, and the bride was tumbled into an icy stream. Her riding habit froze stiff and stood upright until it was thawed by the camp fire hastily built. The ground froze so hard that night that it was difficult to drive tent pins. In the morning a dazzling white blanket lay on the prairie, as if winter had taken a fresh start, and they rode all day in a freezing sleet. It took the party five days to reach Dixon's Ferry. On the 15th of March water left in a coffee-pot froze solid over night. They crossed a wide marsh, frozen as hard as iron, in an artic gale. Another snow-storm impenetrable to the eye as a fog at sea made even the Indian guide lose all sense of direction, and they wandered from their course in the blizzard.

When still fifty miles from Chicago, their food gave out. In the nick of time one lone Pottawatomie lodge was found, but game had been made so scarce by the terrible winter that the Indians had nothing to share with them but wild artichokes. Presently some ducks were shot, for a hurricane swept down from the north, and myriads of waterfowl that had migrated northward only two weeks before, fled southward from a land of famine. The leaden sky above ice-locked streams was black with them, screaming before the blast. The little band of travelers were sobered by the sight Their own escape from the perils of that frigid plain was by no means certain.

Setting up their tents in the doubtful shelter of a belt of woods, trees crashed around them all night long, while the world seemed rocked in the tempest. Fifty forest giants lay around their tents in the morning, and it was with difficulty that the horses picked their way out, over prostrate trunks. They were dazed to find themselves and their animals uninjured. The fury of the storm was over, but the weather was intensely cold. Mrs. Kinzie beat her feet against her saddle, until they were bruised, to keep them from freezing. Streams that had been in flood were frozen over again, but not thickly enough to bear the weight. They

had to break up the ice and swim the horses across. They were over the east fork of the Desplaines no more than an hour, fed and sheltered in a white man's cabin, when the ice broke up again, with thunderous crashes, and the floods fell, the wild, ice-blocked torrent carrying forest trees down with it. One hour's delay and the already exhausted little party would have been marooned, and must have perished on a prairie that was an arctic desert. The time is not definitely stated, but the journey is figured out from the narrative as having taken thirteen or fourteen days.

Nor was this incredible weather yet ended for northern Illinois. Leaving his wife with his mother, John H. Kinzie, after a three weeks' visit, started back to Fort Winnebago in the second week of April. He was overtaken by a storm, so severe and prolonged, that he and his men had to lie over in an Indian lodge for three days. In Chicago, young Mrs. Kinzie records that only twice, during the two months of her stay (until late in May), did the sun shine out through the entire day. The weather continued inclement beyond anything that had ever been known at Fort Dearborn. Some young men who went out to the Calumet region in April to hunt were given up for lost. They were saved from freezing to death only by having two blankets apiece with them, and by taking refuge in an empty cabin on the marsh.[1]

In southern Illinois there was the same sudden thaw, in early March, causing the waters to rise "higher than they had been since Noah's flood."[2] But the temperature fell again, not so low that another freeze was recorded, but the snow-turnpikes that had been made along main-traveled roads, remained long after the great body of snow had melted—shining ribbons of white across the green spring prairie. Dr. Hildreth at Marietta says that a belt of clouds encircled the western states for six months after the "great eclipse" of the sun in February, making a cold, dark, stormy summer. Corroboration of that was received from Kentucky.[3] Inquiry of the Nautical Almanac Bureau in Washington as to that eclipse, resulted in the information that it was only the annular eclipse, and of no importance. Peculiar meteorological conditions attending it probably made it appear as a "great eclipse" at Marietta.

Of the high floods of the spring of 1831, there is very convincing proof in the fact that Lincoln had engaged to meet Denton Offutt in Springfield, as soon as the snow should go off, to take a boat load of merchandise, that Offutt was to have ready at Beardstown, down to New Orleans. When the snow did go off travel by land was impracticable, so Lincoln, John Hanks and John D. Johnston came down the Sangamon in a big canoe. Offutt had been unable to procure a flatboat in Beardstown. The water promised to remain so high, however, that Lincoln and his two relatives took timber out of the woods and built a boat at Sangamon Town, seven miles north of Springfield.[4]

They had a misadventure there in launching a dug-out that nearly ended in a drowning.[5] Thus, in the middle of April, the Sangamon is

[1] *Wau Bun*, p. 260.
[2] T. G. Onstot's "Pioneers of Mason and Menard."
[3] Collin's History of Kentucky, vol 1, pp. 36-37.
[4] Ida M. Tarbell's Life of Abraham Lincoln, vol. 1, p. 51.
[5] Nicolay and Hay "Life of Lincoln," vol. 1.

described as "fairly booming," "running with the speed of a mill-race" and with such a roaring sound that the voices of the men on shore failed to carry to the men struggling in the flood. Lincoln straddled a log, paid out with a rope tied to a tree, and rescued two men from perilous perches in the branches of a drifted giant of the forest. This flood, says Miss Tarbell, in a footnote to her "Life of Lincoln," followed the "Winter of the Deep Snow," from which early settlers of Illinois calculated time. Nicolay and Hay give two pages to the deep snow of 1831 and the subsequent flood.

If further proof were needed that there was an exceptionally severe season in Illinois, ample evidence is readily forthcoming from neighboring states. In Indiana "the weather was steadily and severely cold. The snow fell from 12 to 18 inches in February, and the temperature to 18 and 20 degrees below zero, at the settlement of Indianapolis, by far the coldest weather ever known. On the 11th of April, the steamboat Robert Hanna arrived, the only steamboat that ever came up to that point on the White river."[1]

Missouri keeps up its reputation by "showing" real weather. There was sleighing in St. Louis on New Year's day, and the river was closed by ice both above and below the city.[2] In February the weather was so severe that public and private charity was taxed to prevent suffering and death.[3] The files of the *Missouri Intelligencer* of Columbia for 1831 yielded an abundance of evidence.[4] In the issue of Christmas day, 1830, mention is first made of the severity of the weather. On January 8, 1831, the following occurs: "We are informed that the snow in the upper counties of Missouri is 41 inches deep, and, what is very remarkable, the falling was accompanied by frequent and tremendous peals of thunder and vivid blue streaks of lightning. It was an awful scene, indeed."

The issue for January 15th is only a half-sheet. The little settlement was cut off from the world. "Have no news. Last three mails brought only one Washington paper, no paper from Jefferson City. (Distance about thirty miles). St. Louis *Times* reports eight to 10 inches of snow in last storm. Here it was not less than 20 inches, and most of it remains, for the weather has been intensely cold." February 5, report from Rock Spring, Ill. (near Alton), dated January 19, says: "Have had northern winter for four weeks. Snow lies three feet deep on the level in Morgan and Sangamon county. Around Vandalia it is one glaze of ice. Still snowing." February 12—On Monday, 9 or 10 more inches of snow; Wednesday, two or three more; five degrees below zero. The St. Louis *Times* quotes eastern papers as having accounts of 18 inches of snow at Baltimore. February 19—Accounts of snow-storms in Kentucky, Tennessee, New York, etc. Severity of temperatures and great depth of snow, extending from Missouri to Maine, presents an extraordinary

[1] Brown's History of Indianapolis, written for the City Directory of 1868, pp. 22-23; Reported by Jacob P. Dunn, Lib'n. Indiana State Historical Society as from original sources and very reliable.
[2] St. Louis Times, Jan. 1, 1831.
[3] Missouri Republican, Feb. 8, 1831; St. Louis data supplied by Miss Idress Head Lib'n. of the Mo. Historical Society of St. Louis.
[4] Files of Mo. State Historical Society at Columbia, Mo. data supplied by the Librarian, Mr. F. A. Sampson.

winter. Another "old-fashioned" snow storm gripped Missouri on the 14th. March 5—An extract from the Illinois *Pioneer,* Rock Spring (near Alton), announces the general thaw and adds this: "French settlers along the river say that about fifty years ago the winter was as severe as this one." May 21—Many and long-continued rains are mentioned.

Those rains were the special grievance of Kentucky. As Colonel Watterson once plaintively remarked, after a Democratic defeat: "Nothing but weather and elections." On May 10, 1831, there was an extensive and violent hail storm in several counties, with hail stones three inches in circumference. July 22d, a tremendous electric storm did incredible damage to property. Finally the Ohio river was frozen over solid, from December 11, 1831, to January 8, 1832. When the ice broke up, nine steamboats were destroyed. In February, 1832, there was the greatest flood ever known, with violent gales that capsized steamboats.[1]

Dr. Hildreth at Marietta confirms the fact that inclement weather extended over the entire year of 1831. He says: "There were 160 cloudy days, fifty-seven more than in 1830. Fruit trees were three weeks late in blossoming. Heavy rains commenced falling late in June and continued all summer. Crops were beaten down and destroyed."[2] The Mississippi was so swollen that the largest steamboats were able to come up to St. Louis in mid-summer.[3] The steamboat Yellowstone went up to the mouth of the Little Missouri, above Bismarck, N. D., 600 miles farther than any steamer had navigated before, returning to St. Louis safely, in the middle of July.[4] Throughout July there were heavy rains in the Mississippi bottoms that destroyed crops and washed away bridges. On the 30th of June, a destructive tornado, accompanied by hail and torrents of rain, was reported from Port Gibson, Miss.[5] Late in October the St. Louis mail coach, in crossing the Elm river, was overturned by the force of the swollen current, and sunk in 10 feet of water.[6] At Marietta, O., there were only eight or ten days of Indian summer, instead of three or four weeks, and winter set in with vigor, late in November. By December 4, the rivers were full of ice. On the 10th the Ohio could be crossed by the heaviest teams. The Mississippi was reported frozen over solid for 130 miles south of the mouth of the Ohio and there was skating in New Orleans. The winter was very severe, but less snow fell than in 1831, only six or eight inches. The temperature fell to .18 at Nashville, Tenn.[7]

On the winter of 1832 we have the evidence of the Sangamo *Journal* that was established in Springfield in November, 1831. In the issue of December 15, 1831, this occurs: "We are now taking the cold at the rate of 22 degrees below zero." On January 19th the thaw is reported

[1] Collin's History of Kentucky, Vol. 1, pp. 36-37. Also the St. Louis Times and the Sangamo Journal give accounts of floods in the Ohio, quoting Cincinnati and Louisville papers.
[2] Dr. S. P. Hildreth, in Pioneer History of the Ohio Valley, and in the American Journal of Science for 1831-32.
[3] Illinois Gazette, July 2, 1831 (no town given. Item supplied by Miss Head of St. Louis.)
[4] St. Louis Times, July 16, 1831.
[5] Western Ploughboy of Edwardsville, quoted by St. Louis Times.
[6] Galena (Ill.) Miner, July 27, 1831.
[7] St. Louis Times, Oct. 29, 1831.
[7] American Journal of Science for 1832.

in the Sangamon, and the Ohio and Mississippi are expected "to follow suit." "Had some beautiful days that made up for long severe cold of a month before."[1]

In the middle of January there was no mail from Vincennes for St. Louis, due to the seven or eight feet rise in the Ohio. Navigation of the Mississippi was closed. The river was open between the mouth of the Ohio and Grand Tower but was frozen over to Randolph, 200 miles below.[2] The latter part of the month the weather was again intensely cold, the thermometer down to 13 degrees below, and the river frozen over, both above and below the city.[3] The Baltimore *Gazette* is quoted by the Sangamo *Journal* as saying that the price of fuel in New York and Philadelphia had been doubled. In Baltimore the increase was only 10 per cent, owing to the railroad. Good wolf hunting weather—cold and snow—is reported on the 2d of February. Here, also, begins reports of the floods in the Ohio. By March 1 an extract is made from the Cincinnati *American* of February 14, the river was then rising three inches an hour, and lower Allegheny was literally afloat. Nineteen houses were seen in the river, Lawrenceburg, Ind., was cabled to trees on the bluffs; the dove would have found no resting place above the water in Marietta. Cincinnati's chief industry was moving to higher ground—the entire bottom was under water, and the raging river full of floating wreckage.[4] The severe cold and high floods of 1832 resulted in wide-spread distress. Seed corn was frostbitten, and corn from the south was $3 a bushel, a prohibitive price. Large areas of farming land went uncultivated that season.[5]

If I seem to be wandering, both in time and space, from the main theme, have a little patience. Numerous straws of meteorological data showed that many winds were abroad, the terrestrial envelope of atmosphere in an explosive state for a much longer period than the winter of 1831. In New England the spring equinox of 1830 was marked by a violent storm along the coast, with waves that beached shipping and destroyed wharves and warehouses. The water rose higher than had been recorded in a half century.[6] Hard-headed Yankees in Massachusetts, and unlettered French settlers on the Mississippi, both harked back fifty years for comparison with the weather. We'll see what that means presently. The summer of 1830, in New England, was cold and wet, suddenly changing to the hottest July ever known, with electric storms, floods of rain and freshets that changed the channels of rivers. August 17, 1830 ushered in six weeks of storm. The first one swept the coast from Cape Hatteras northward. On the 27th occurred another of three days' duration. In September there were three storms, on the 20th, 24th and 29th, of the violence of hurricanes, and another in the first week of October. On the 6th of December a terrific northeast snow storm again

[1] Data supplied by Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Lib'n. of Illinois State Historical Society, from files
[2] Missouri Republican, Jan. 17, 1832.
[3] Missouri Republican, Jan. 31, 1832.
[4] The Sangamo Journal and the Missouri Republican, both have this report of the flood. Reported by Mrs. Weber from Springfield, and Miss Head from St. Louis.
[5] Missouri Republican, June 12, 1832.
[6] Perley: Historic Storms of New England, p. 249.

swept the coast.[1] Winter set in early with great depth of snow, and again there was a hot mid-summer in 1831, the temperature averaging five degrees higher at Brunswick, Me., than for the previous years.[2]

On August 13, 1831, beside the summer storms noted in Kentucky and confirmed by Dr. Hildreth, a West Indian hurricane, such as destroyed Galveston, swept from Barbadoes, in a wide arc, through the Windward islands, Porto Rico, Hayti, Jamaica and Cuba to Mobile, a distance of 2,300 miles, spending itself in heavy rains in the gulf states.[3] As a precursor of this storm a peculiar appearance of the sun was noted in New York City and in Mobile and New Orleans. The Mobile *Register* of August 17, 1831, contained an account of this that was thought worthy a place in the *American Journal of Science.*

"On Saturday last the sun gave off pale blue and violet rays. A large spot the size of a dollar visible to the naked eye cast a bluish shade on objects. At 6:00 o'clock Monday the entire disc was a pale green. In the night a violent storm set in from the southeast."

In the summer of 1831 there was extensive famine in the western counties of Ireland, due to excessive rains rotting the potatoes.[4] In India, on the contrary, there were years of plenty in the early '30s because of abundant and evenly distributed rains.

It was in India that the first clue to the scientific explanation of all this weather was picked up. Put an Englishman down anywhere on the globe under the Union Jack and a pith helmet, and he will straightway begin to gather statistics. Long before the Imperial government had organized relief for famines, British colonial officials had learned to expect drought in minimum sun-spot periods. Quietude of the sun, it had been observed, was usually associated with a weak monsoon.[5] In the early '30s a maximum sun-spot period was indicated in India. In Mobile, New Orleans and New York City an enormous sun-spot was observed in August, 1831. Other observations of sun-spots will be noted later.

In New England another scientific clew was picked up. Weather reports were kept by Prof. Parker Cleaveland, of Bowdoin College, at Brunswick, Me., from 1807 to 1859, that were tabulated by the Smithsonian Institution.[6] In September, 1830, while continuous storms swept the Atlantic coast, Professor Cleaveland made note of a sudden increase in the number and brilliancy of the displays of the *aurora borealis.* The same phenomena were reported by Gen. Martin Field who, for a long period, kept meteorological reports at Fayetteville, Vt.[7] The auroras observed in that latitude had for years averaged eighteen, but from May, 1830, to May, 1831, General Field saw fifty-six, several of them of unusual brilliancy. On the 9th of March he noted a perfect arch, a rare

[1] "Prevailing Storms of Atlantic Coast," American Journal of Science, 1831.
[2] Prof. Parker Cleveland's Meteorological Reports, kept at Brunswick, Maine, from 1807 to 1859. Tabulated in Smithsonian Institutions Contributions to Knowledge.
[3] Illinois Intelligencer of Vandalia for Oct. 7, 1831, had a report of this hurricane.
[4] W. P. O'Brien's: "Great Famines in Ireland."
[5] Rev. J. E. Scott's, "In Famine Land," p. 14. Also article on India in the Encyclopedia Britannica.
[6] Smithsonian Institution: Contributions to Knowledge.
[7] American Journal of Science, Oct. 1831. Gen. Field also made annual report on meteorology to the American Journal of Science for many years.

sight in so low a latitude. Some of these auroras were seen as far south as Maryland, in latitude 39. A remarkable one observed there is described as magnificent.

"It began as early as 6:00 o'clock in the evening, in a blush along the northern sky. This was soon bounded, to east and west with crimson columns which wavered and flowed like drapery, sent up streamers, and finally focussed at the zenith in a characteristic corona, that broke up and formed again. In the south the sky was a dark slate color, brilliant with stars, and the stars appeared as electric points through the transparent folds of crimson light in the north. Innumerable spindles of silvery luster darted from the blood-red drapery. Universal stillness reigned. The barometer rose, the temperature fell. Nature was in a profound hush. The snowy landscape was stained a lovely flickering rose by the reflection."

It does not seem improbable that the long arctic winter in the Mississippi valley was relieved by an occasional display of northern lights, for these auroras were seen and marvelled at all over Europe. Dalton's catalogue of auroras records thirty-two for Great Britain in 1830 and twenty-three in 1831. The report of the Regents of the University of New York shows that from April, 1830, to April, 1831, auroral displays in middle latitudes were very frequent and of unusual brilliancy.[1] Many of them were seen simultaneously in the old world and the new. Such a one was seen December 11, 1830, ushering in the stormy winter. That of January 7, 1831, was seen from Paris to Niagara Falls. It lasted from sunset until dawn, and ran the gamut of auroral phenomena. On the 19th of April another aurora apparently girdled the hemisphere in about latitude 40.

Loomis and Wolf's tables of sun-spots and auroras, covering the century and a quarter from 1750 to 1879, show high energy of both in the American Revolutionary War period.[2] Then there was a dropping off until about 1827. A chart showing the likeness between auroral frequency, sun-spot frequency, and the magnetic range, between 1780 and 1870, shows a sudden leap upward of all three at 1830, after a period of calm from the beginning of the century. This period of quietude of the sun, and abeyance of auroras in lower latitudes, coincides with the long period of "mild winters" that had given early settlers in Illinois their sense of security in the climate.

The most inclement season in the United States, previous to that of 1831, was in 1777-78, the famous bitter winter, that tested endurance and patriotism of Washington's soldiers at Valley Forge. The recollections of New Englanders and of the French on the Mississippi were accurate as to there having been as cold a winter "about fifty years before." In that winter long-continued low temperatures and heavy falls of snow were accompanied by sun-spots and auroral displays. The northern lights were of such unusual brilliancy as to excite the superstitious fears of unlettered colonials. "The battles in the clouds" were

[1] American Journal of Science for 1832, reviewing the Annals of Philosophy of London, and the report of the Regents of the University of New York.
[2] Article on meteorology in Encyclopedia Britannica.

looked upon as omens of disaster or of Divine disapproval, and may very easily have added to the difficulties of a successful conduct of the war.

After 1778, both sun-spots and auroras gradually declined and, from 1800 to the late '20s, were almost completely in abeyance. The sudden revival of solar activity and auroral displays, that reached a climax in the early '30s, was marked by a return of extreme temperatures and precipitation, and by violent magnetic storms. It seems pertinent to inquire as to what connection there may be between solar activity and terrestrial meteorology.

For the latest scientific pronouncement on this point, Milton Updegraff, professor of mathematics in the United States Naval Observatory, and director of the Nautical Almanac in Washington, referred the writer to "Problems in Astro-Physics" by Agnes M. Clerke. I venture to do nothing more than to quote to the point, verbatim, with special reference to the period under consideration:[1]

"The sun is subject to a rythmic tide of disturbance, ebbing and flowing in a period of eleven years; but this period is irregular and spasmodic. Both the intervals and the intensity (of activity) vary, and the period is involved in others. One, there is reason to believe, comprises a term of sixty-five years (which also varies). Prediction remains at fault. Spot maxima are delayed or fettered; are languid or energetic. The eleven year cycle ran to sixteen years, from 1788 to 1804, while the cycle was *compressed into a little more than seven years, from September, 1829, to February, 1837.*

"Terrestrial meteorology, as a whole, is certainly embraced in the sun-cycles, but the details of conformity baffle pursuit. Only in the magnetic field is there no room for doubt. The earth is circled by an auroral belt around the pole, which advances into temperate latitudes at epochs of cosmic disturbance, but retires toward the pole as it quiets down. Individual outbreaks on the sun are often unmistakably associated with commotions of the terrestrial magnetic system. These so-called magnetic storms are world-wide in their nature, and bear witness to some sudden, vital spasm, attacking the world as a whole. Auroras and earth-currents make part of these mysterious affections, which commonly reach their height when a large sun-spot is nearly central on the disc. On November 17, 1882, the photosphere of the sun was, to the naked eye, visibly rent, and the coincident magnetic storm and auroral display, 'beggared description.' The transit of another enormous sun-spot created a magnetic turmoil in February, 1892, that seriously interferred with telegraphic and telephonic communication. An auroral pagaent completed the program. Variations of the earth's orbit, even, are held by many astronomers to coincide with the sixty-five year period of climax in sun-spots."

That is as far as science is prepared to go at present. Incidentally, it may be remarked that sun-spots and auroras have been under intelligent observation since Galileo and Kepler, three hundred years ago. Scien-

[1] "Problems in Astro-Physics," by Agnes M. Clerke, Chap. XIII, pp. 150-160. Published in London 1903. Copy in John Crerar Library of Chicago.

tists indulge in no snap judgments. While it is accepted that "terrestrial meteorology, as a whole, is certainly embraced in the sun-cycles, the details of conformity still baffle pursuit, and only in the field of magnetism is there no room for doubt." As regards the effect on temperature and precipitation, and the extension of influence over entire seasons and years, science goes only so far as to confess to the open mind.

The authority quoted notes that the eleven-year sun-spot cycle was at this time compressed into seven years and a fraction, from September, 1829, to February, 1837. It would also appear that the sixty-five-year cycle, counting from 1777-78 to 1830-31, was contracted to fifty-three years. It is, perhaps, not surprising that there were explosions. Certainly, a prolonged vital spasm seems to have attacked the world as a whole in 1831, with separate individual outbreaks as early as March, 1830, and as late as March, 1832, a period of two years. When Captain John Ross returned from his second Polar voyage, he extended those extraordinary weather conditions, at least in the Arctics, from 1829 to 1833.[1]

The record of Polar explorations, from the period of the American Revolution to the early '30s, confirms the character of the seasons in lower latitudes. In 1778-79 two expeditions were turned back by ice-barriers in latitudes of 65° to 70°. In 1806 Captain Scoresby, a famous whaler, reached latitude 81° 12′, and he reported the Polar seas remarkably open in 1817. During the following ten years there were four successful voyages undertaken, by Franklin, Parry, Beechey and Ross. Captain Parry went over the ice to latitude 82° 45′ in 1827. In 1829, however, a Danish expedition was turned back in latitude 65°, by "an insurmountable barrier of ice."[2]

In the same summer, Captain John Ross worked up through Baffin's bay to latitude 74°, turned westward through Lancaster sound and then dropped southward to the Gulf of Boothia, in latitude 70°. By examining a continental map you will find his winter quarters on the 90th meridian, about 2,000 miles due northward from St. Louis. There, in a fairly sheltered, almost land-locked gulf, within fifty miles or so of the north magnetic pole which he succeeded in locating, Captain Ross passed the next three winters. The kind of weather this expedition encountered is very pertinent to this inquiry.

The winter of 1829-30, the entire year, indeed, was much colder than on his former voyage, but in retrospect it seemed mild. It was marked by brilliant auroras, more regular, splendid and durable than had been noted by other explorations. Christmas day was celebrated by a display of great magnificence that filled the entire vault of heaven and ran the gamut of auroral phenomena. At another time a broad arch of the argent color and radiation of a full moon, "exactly as the rings of Saturn must appear to that planet" was recorded. And, before the sun disappeared below the horizon, they saw an enormous sun-spot, so fairly centered on the disc as to present the appearance of an eclipse, with a belt of dazzling brilliancy, shooting rays like the star of the order of the

[1] Narrative of the Second Polar Voyage of Sir John Ross.
[2] Article on Polar Regions in the Encyclopedia Britannica.

Bath. It was too incredible, too absurd to be believed, and did not admit of representation in the then undeveloped state of photography. Very great magnetic disturbance was thus indicated in the Polar regions in 1829, and it was accompanied by lower temperature.

September, 1830, opened with severity, the thermometer falling three degrees below the freezing point, and the cold was attended by gales of wind and snow. This was the time the sudden increase in the number and brightness of auroras was noted in Maine and Vermont. By the 24th, when the sun crossed the equator, the ship was frozen in a foot of ice. Weeks were consumed in cutting the vessel out, and moving it to a safer position; but less than a quarter of a mile was gained, and further efforts were abandoned. By the 10th of October the thermometer registered minus degrees, and all the Polar regions seemed to be sending in their stored up icebergs. By November the new ice was four feet thick. On the 29th the mercury froze in the thermometer at 39 degrees. New Year's day, 1831, when the first storm was raging in the Mississippi valley, the arctic explorer recorded a temperature of 52 degrees.

A splendid aurora was seen on Boothia on the 13th of January. The great storm that Dr. Hildreth reported as extending over the entire United States occurred on the 14th. A week before, on January 7th, the extraordinary aurora that lasted from sunset to dawn was seen in both hemispheres down to latitude -39: The magnetic pagaent, which Miss Clerke has led us to expect, was complete. Another remarkable phenomenon was observed January 11th at Oneida Seminary, New York. A brilliant halo formed around the sun which was of an electric whiteness, blinding to the eye. This changed to an elongated parhelion, colored prismatically and finally forming an arc. The thermometer fell from 23 degrees above to 11 degrees below in the night, with a heavy fall of snow.[1]

The aurora of January 13, 1831, was the last one of any note that was seen by these Arctic explorers. Thereafter the Polar regions were shrouded in gloom. The auroral belt that, "in periods of great magnetic disturbance, descend into lower latitudes," had migrated, for a series of years, to a zone between the 60th and 40th parallels. Its descent to the south was announced, whether perforce or coincidently, by gales of wind, paralyzing storms, and bitter and long-continued cold, making an historic season. Captain Ross missed the midnight splendor of the aurora borealis, but he too was in the grip of icy blasts and ice-locked seas. The latter half of February in his winter quarters, averaged 42 degrees. This was the time when the editor of the Edwardsville *Advocate* was driven from his sanctum by the northern blasts.

"By the 20th of March," as Captain Ross remarks with commendable restraint in his narrative, "the continuance and degree of cold began seriously to attract our attention. On the 21st the sun crossed the equator at -49 degrees, a temperature that was unparalleled in all former voyages." This corresponds to the date that Mr. and Mrs. John H. Kinzie crossed the Desplaines in temperatures unparalleled for Chicago.

[1] American Journal of Science for 1831, p. 189.

The mean temperature for March, in latitude 70, was -35 degrees, eleven degrees lower than the lowest previous record. It was the end of April before the crew could travel at all. In May the average was still 16 degrees below freezing point, and no open water was seen. It was in April that some young men were thought to have perished of the cold on the Calumet marsh, and up to late in May the sun shone out only two entire days in Chicago, during the inclement spring of 1831.

Captain Ross never did get his little ship out of the ice. In the spring of 1832 it was abandoned there, and the explorers made their way overland, to their buried stores on Fury Beach, Barrow Strait, in latitude 74. There they spent another year of unbroken winter, seeing open water for the first time in three years, late in the summer of 1833, when they were picked up by a whaler from Baffin's Bay. The party had long been looked upon as lost.

The professional ethics of arctic exploration forbids the use of superlatives. Few comments are made on the most frightful experiences. Temperatures that congeal the blood are recorded, unmoved; mountains of immemorial snow; frozen wastes of continental expanse; unfathomable darkness of stellar spaces; legions of spectral bergs that crash around their beleaguered ships in the Polar midnight. Captain Ross had commanded a previous expedition, and had gone back undismayed. In March, 1831, the continuance and degree of cold merely "attracted our serious attention," but by June, 1832, the unmitigated rigor, the incessant gales, the universal ice and snow, had become an obsession. It was a physical torment and a mental depression that tested all their powers of endurance. They fled northward in terror, to lie in the track of whalers, to be companioned there, also, by menace of death and oblivion. The world seemed to have swung into some cataclysmic cycle—to lie there stark, and sepultured in snow—geologic ages to pass, mayhap, before their crystal prison should be unlocked. The slate-colored strip of water, opening through Lancaster Sound, was the first sign they had in three years, that the northern hemisphere had not congealed.

Captain Ross confessed, with picturesque vigor and without shame, that he had had enough to last a lifetime. Here is his sober indictment of the North Polar regions, from 1829 to 1833:

"It is very certain that no traveler, under any circumstances, nor any navigators, among all those who have wintered in northern latitudes, have ever encountered winters more severe, in temperatures and storms, nor in duration and frequency of storms. It was one long winter of four years, when the freezing point was our summer heat, and cold meant from 50 to 80 degrees below zero. Four years of snow and ice, uninterrupted and unceasing, was more than enough to suffice for admiration."[1]

As the *Illinois Intelligencer* so justly observed, "the winter of the deep snow" was, at least, continental in extent. The historical and other data collected in this inquiry, cover too small a field, in time and space, perhaps, to lead to scientific conclusions, but they are submitted in the hope that the whole cosmic story of a phenomenal period may be searched out and analyzed.

[1] Narrative of the Second Polar Voyage of Sir John Ross, original quarto edition, with plates, p. 543.

[FORM 2.]

CATON LINES.

Illinois and Mississippi Telegraph Company.

IN CONNECTION WITH ALL OTHER LINES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADAS.

TERMS AND CONDITIONS ON WHICH MESSAGES ARE RECEIVED BY THIS COMPANY FOR TRANSMISSION:

The public are notified, that, in order to guard against mistakes in the transmission of messages, every message of importance ought to be repeated, by being sent back from the station at which it is to be received to the station from which it is originally sent. Half the usual price for transmission will be charged for repeating the message. This Company will not be responsible for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery of unrepeated messages, from whatever cause they may arise; nor will it be responsible for damages arising from mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery of a repeated message, beyond an amount exceeding two hundred times the amount paid for sending the message; nor will it be responsible for delays arising from interruptions in the working of its Telegraphs, nor for any mistake or omission of any other Company over whose lines a message is to be sent to reach the place of destination. All messages will hereafter be received by this Company for transmission, subject to the above conditions.

J. D. CATON, Prest, Ottawa, Ill.

18

By Telegraph from Chicago 18 1860

To Hon A Lincoln

Nate just announced

Whole No 466 Necessary to Choice 234

Lincoln 354 votes not stated on motion of

Mr Evarts of NY the nomination was

made unanimous amid intense

Enthusiasm

J D Allison

HOW MR. LINCOLN RECEIVED THE NEWS OF HIS FIRST NOMINATION.

By Clinton L. Conkling.

The Republican National convention met in Chicago, May 16, 1860. The interest throughout the country in the results of the meeting was intense. The general opinion, especially in the East, was that William H. Seward of New York would be nominated, although Horace Greeley and others from New York were opposed to him. The Republican State convention on the ninth day of the same month had declared Abraham Lincoln to be the first choice of the Republican party of Illinois for the presidency. Many delegates and politicians thronged the city several days before the convention. Mr. Lincoln's friends were early on the ground working earnestly and effectively to create a sentiment in his favor.

Mr. N. M. Knapp, then of Winchester, Ill., wrote to him from Chicago, as follows:

TREMONT HOUSE.
GAGE, BRO. & DRAKE. PROPRIETORS.
CHICAGO, Monday May 14, 1860.

DEAR SIR—Things are working; keep a good nerve—be not surprised at any result—but I tell you that your chances are not the worst. We have got Seward in the attitude of the representative Republican of the East—*you* at the West. We are laboring to make you the second choice of all the delegations we can where we cannot make you first choice. We are dealing tenderly with delegates, taking them in detail, and making no fuss. Be not too expectant but rely upon our discretion. Again I say brace your nerves for any result.

Truly your friend,

N. M. KNAPP.

Mr. Lincoln was present at the State convention at Decatur but did not go to Chicago. He remained in Springfield, went to his law office as usual, received reports of the progress of events by telegrams, letters and from persons returning from Chicago, visited his friends to discuss the situation and prospects and, occasionally, as was his wont, joined in a game of hand ball, the then favorite pastime of the professional men of the town.

The only wires into Springfield in 1860 were owned and operated by the Illinois and Mississippi Telegraph Company and were called the "Caton Lines" after Judge John D. Caton of Ottawa, Illinois, president of the company, and one of its organizers. Its principal office was at St. Louis. John James Speed Wilson, afterwards known as "Col. Wilson," was superintendent of the Eastern Division with headquarters at Spring-

field. E. D. L. Sweet was superintendent of the Western Division with his office in Chicago. These divisions were afterwards called the Southern and Northern divisions, respectively.

C. F. McIntire, with an operator named J. B. Pierce, was in charge of the local office in Springfield which was then on the north side of the Public Square (but at what number I have been unable to learn). I have no further information about these operators. A year or two afterwards the telegraph office was moved to the rooms previously occupied by James C. Conkling as law offices, being the second floor over Chatterton's jewelry store, now No. 121 South Fifth Street, on the west side of the Square, where it remained for some years. The first telegraph office in this city was in the second story over Pease's hardware store, now No. 506 East Adams Street on the south side of the square.

Upon the absorption of the Illinois & Mississippi Lines by the Western Union Telegraph Company in 1866, Mr. Sweet was appointed superintendent of the latter company, and upon his resignation in 1868, Colonel Wilson succeeded him and removed to Chicago. He continued in that position until 1879, when he resigned to go into other business. He died a few years afterwards. Mr. E. D. L. Sweet is still living in Chicago at the advanced age of eighty-six years. During the convention he had charge of all the telegraphic arrangements. There was only one wire into the "Wigwam" and this was connected in the main office with the eastern wire of the Western Union—it being the general opinion that the nomination would go to an eastern man, Seward being the one most often mentioned in that respect. Mr. Wilson was in Chicago during the convention and divided his time between the main telegraph office, at the southeast corner of Lake and Clark streets, and the convention in the "Wigwam," a building erected for the occasion at the corner of Market and Lake streets. Most of the personal messages from delegates to Illinois points were sent from the convention hall to the main office of the Caton Company by messenger boys.

On Friday morning, May 18, 1860, the third day of the convention, the delegates met at ten o'clock to ballot. James C. Conkling of Springfield who had been in Chicago several days but was called back unexpectedly, arrived home early that morning. George M. Brinkerhoff, Sr., of this city was reading law in Mr. Conkling's office, which was then over Chatterton's jewelry store. About half past eight o'clock Mr. Lincoln came into the office and asked Mr. Brinkerhoff where Mr. Conkling was, as he had just heard on the street that the latter had returned from Chicago. On being told that Mr. Conkling was not in but probably would be in an hour, Mr. Lincoln said he would go out on the street and come back again as he was anxious to see Mr. Conkling. Presently Mr. Conkling came in and later Mr. Lincoln again called. There was an old settee by the front window on which were several buggy cushions. Mr. Lincoln stretched himself upon this settee, his head on a cushion and his feet over the end of the settee. For a long time they talked about the convention. Mr. Lincoln wanted to know what had been done and what Mr. Conkling had seen and learned and

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J. D. CATON, Prest, Ottawa, Ill.

18

By Telegraph from Chicago 18 18

To Hon A Lincoln

You were nominated on 3rd Ballot

J J Richards

6 55 pd

FORM 7.

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J. D. CATON, Prest, Ottawa, Ill.

18

By Telegraph from 18

To Lincoln

Dont come nominated

D D Davidson

what he believed would be the result of the convention. Mr. Conkling replied that Mr. Lincoln would be nominated that day; that after the conversations he had had and the information he had gathered in regard to Mr. Seward's candidacy, he was satisfied that Mr. Seward could not be nominated, for he not only had enemies in other states than his own, but he had enemies at home; that if Mr. Seward was not nominated on the first ballot the Pennsylvania delegation and other delegations would immediately go to Mr. Lincoln and he would be nominated.

Mr. Lincoln replied that he hardly thought this could be possible and that in case Mr. Seward was not nominated on the first ballot, it was his judgment that Mr. Chase of Ohio or Mr. Bates of Missouri would be the nominee. They both considered that Mr. Cameron of Pennsylvania stood no chance of nomination. Mr. Conkling in response said that he did not think it was possible to nominate any other one except Mr. Lincoln under the existing conditions because the pro-slavery part of the Republican party then in the convention would not vote for Mr. Chase, who was considered an abolitionist, and the abolition part of the party would not vote for Mr. Bates, because he was from a slave state, and that the only solution of the matter was the nomination of Mr. Lincoln.

After discussing the situation at some length, Mr. Lincoln arose and said, "Well, Conkling, I believe I will go back to my office and practice law." He then left the office.

I was present during a part only of this interview and depend largely for the details of this conversation upon what Mr. Conkling and Mr. Brinkerhoff have told me. In a very few moments after Mr. Lincoln left I learned of his nomination, (just how I do not now remember) and rushed after him. I met him on the west side of the Square before anyone else had told him and to my cry, "Mr. Lincoln you're nominated" he said, "Well, Clinton, then we've got it," and took my outstretched hand in both of his. Then the excited crowds surged around him and I dropped out of sight.

In my possession are five original telegrams received by Mr. Lincoln on the day he was nominated. All are on the Illinois and Mississippi Telegraph Company form.

The first one sent was from the telegraph superintendent Wilson, and shows signs of haste and bears no date. It reads,

"To Lincoln:

"You are nominated."

"J. J. S. Wilson."

Mr. Pierce, the operator who received this message at Springfield, writes from Young America, Illinois, under date of June 4, 1860, to Mr. Lincoln saying that this was the first message for him announcing his nomination.

A moment after this message was sent a messenger boy brought to the main office in Chicago a message addressed simply "Abe" and which read "We did it. Glory to God," "Knapp." The receiving clerk brought the message to Mr. Sweet, calling his attention to the address, and also

to the expression "Glory to God." Mr. Sweet directed that the words "Lincoln, Springfield" be added and that the message be sent at once. This message is probably the first one to Mr. Lincoln from any person who was actively at work in his behalf in the convention and without doubt was from Mr. N. M. Knapp who wrote the letter of May fourteenth.

The next two telegrams are from J. J. Richards who was well known in earlier days in Springfield. He was connected with the Great Western Railroad Company and was its agent for some time at Naples, which was then the end of the road. Owing to the great amount of freight then brought to Naples by boat from St. Louis and other points down the river, and which was there re-shipped to Central Illinois points, the position of agent required a man of good business ability, and for this reason he was stationed there. He subsequently went to Chicago.

These telegrams are as follows:

May 18, 1860.

By Telegraph from Chicago 18 1860.

To Abraham Lincoln:

You'r nominated & elected.

J. J. Richards.

————18————

By Telegraph from Chicago 18———18——

To Hon. A. Lincoln:

You were nominated on 3rd ballot.

J. J. Richards.

Mr. J. J. S. Wilson followed his first message, probably within a very few moments, by another which reads:

————————18———

By Telegraph from Chicago 18 1860.

To Hon. A. Lincoln:

Vote just announced. Whole No 466 necessary to choice 234 Lincoln 354 votes not stated on motion of Mr. Evarts of NY the nomination was made unanimous amid intense enthusiasm.

J. J. S. Wilson.

For kindly assistance in compiling this paper I am indebted to Hon. Robert T. Lincoln; Mr. Charles S. Sweet, his Secretary; Mr. John W. Bunn and Mr. George M. Brinkerhoff, Sr.

Also see Williams' Springfield Directory for 1860, p. 42, and the Directory for 1863 under individual names; How Abraham Lincoln Became President, by J. McCan Davis; Illinois State Register, Feb. 13, 1903, p. 8 and the issue of the same paper of Feb. 12, 1909, p. 9, in which T. W. S. Kidd tells what Mr. Lincoln himself told him about where he was when nominated and who first brought him the news.

FORM 2.]

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J. D. CATON, Pres't, Ottawa, Ill.

18

By Telegraph from Chicago 18 18

To Abe Lincoln

We did it going to God

Knapp

6 [illegible]

THE STUDY OF GENEALOGY.

By Harriet Taylor.

The best public genealogical collections in the United States are in Boston, New York City, Albany, Washington, D. C., Madison, Wis., and Chicago. The official publication of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society gives Boston first place. The Register is now in its sixty-third volume and is the standard authority for all matters pertaining to genealogy. Many Massachusetts towns have preserved in their libraries manuscripts, certificates of military service, receipts from early public officials, fragments of company records, and other manuscript documents of the utmost importance in determining claims to colonial and revolutionary military service. The largest libraries publish monthly bulletins, or lists of new genealogical works acquired.

The most complete materials bearing on the German element in America are at the New York Public Library. They also have much on the Royalists who, during the Revolution, fled to Canada and Nova Scotia. The Pennsylvania-German Monthly Magazine, edited by Kriebel, is another resource for German-American genealogists.

The Wisconsin State Historical Society Library, at Madison, antedates the Newberry Library by many years. It contains great and unique resources in manuscript, including certain colonial and revolutionary military muster rolls and orderly books, not to be found at Washington, and the extensive Draper Collection of trans-Allegheny pioneering history. The Wisconsin Sons of American Revolution are coöperating with the Society in publishing some of their important manuscripts. In 1905, Vol. 1 of a "Documentary History of Dunmore's War" was issued, and in 1905 Vol. 2 of "The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777" appeared. The Wisconsin State Library also has 15,000 bound volumes of newspapers and is especially strong in town and county histories.

The Newberry Library Genealogical Department has the advantage in efficiency over all larger collections on account of its genealogical index, containing at present 1,300,000 references to different names, in books analyzed in that library. For this reason it is the most convenient, as well as expeditious, working place in the United States. The surnames in this immense index are variously spelled, as found and grouped under places, and, according to intermarriages, occasionally new entries are inserted, keeping pace with the growth of the library.

Visitors from the Atlantic to the Pacific consider the Newberry Library a center of genealogical information, and frequently sojourn in Chicago awhile to look up family history.

The Chicago Historical Society, and all other associations of similar character, have preserved historical data, manuscripts, memorials, portraits and relics pertaining to pioneers within a certain limited range. These learned institutions are proper places at which to apply for any information of early date in their locality.

With few exceptions books purely genealogical containing lineages and vital records of Western born people, are as yet unknown. Powers' Sangamon County is one Illinois production of this kind. The most voluminous resources we now possess for Western family history are found in the State and county portrait and biographical records, histories, memorials, or reviews, as they are variously entitled, issued during the last forty years in large numbers by the biographical publishing companies. Such works have been published on the Pacific states, Arizona, Colorado, Oklahoma and for most of the states in the Mississippi valley. These sketches include many families of foreign extraction, but, strange to relate, few of them reach back into the fatherland of Europe, so that as family trees they are rootless. A few pioneers have published memoirs or reminiscences, and writings of early travelers in the West mention some names with descriptions of early home life in the West.

A work on the Western territories published in 1797 by Imlay, commissioner for laying out lands in the "Back Settlements," takes in Cahokia, Ill., and St. Louis, Mo., but more particularly deals with Kentucky. There are similar travels by Brissot de Warville, 1792; Kendall, 1807; Birkbeck, 1817; Darby, 1818, and others giving a glimpse of the West at those periods. The first State Gazetteers frequently mention names of founders of towns. In several of the largest cities a few wealthy individuals have formed clubs for the purpose of reprinting very old and rare books relating to the pioneer history of the nation.

But, we cannot repeat too often in connection with genealogy that *vital records are alone reliable as authorities.* Everybody has been born or gets married, and few people will live forever, although twentieth century experts in mental therapeutics or scientific gymnastics insist upon it that eternal physical existence is a possibility. If this idea becomes practical, it is likely to complicate future genealogical work. However, let us not borrow trouble.

Historical Societies and Genealogical Associations.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington, D. C., has recently issued a "Handbook of Learned Societies and Institutions of America." This work includes a brief account of all historical and genealogical associations in our country. All of them respond to inquiries by mail.

The American Antiquarian Society Library at Worcester, Mass., has 130,000 volumes, including manuscripts, portraits and relics of pioneers. The wealthiest of eastern societies is, of course, the New England

Historical and Genealogical Society of Boston, with 60,000 manuscripts, and museum of portraits, curios and antiques. At Richmond, Va., there is the Confederate Memorial Literary Society Library, with many books, manuscripts and relics relating to Southerners previous to 1860.

Resources.

If we should attempt to give here a bibliography of genealogy, we can imagine there would soon be no listeners. Nor is it necessary to name works wherein to look for certain family data, because any one attempting to compile a lineage will find it necessary to go to some genealogical library, or to all of them in turn, where well trained attendants with unlimited patience and courtesy will bring any books inquired for and suggest others to suit the case. Of course, the history of the family wanted is most important, if it has been published; after that there are innumerable resources for discovering proofs of identity, or relationships lineal or collateral.

Many states have established departments of archives and history. Public offices preserve records and historical libraries possess certain powers of examining these official records for historical purposes. In many of these local libraries, all deeds, wills and other personal documents of the State are deposited, and they may there usually be examined by searchers for family data. Nearly all of the original thirteen states printed colonial records.

Practical Suggestions.

Interest in genealogy has hardly kept pace with general progress in the West. When a native of Illinois, or Ohio, achieves distinction, everybody asks, "Who is he?" They want to know just where, among his progenitors the same lofty tendency may be found, or from what combination of ancestors such a wonderful character could have emanated. Cultivated people in the West are beginning to realize keenly that noble lineage is the best legacy for children. But whether or not it contains great names, one's make-up should be among the first lessons in education. Thrice blessed were our forefathers who committed to writing important family events. "Words are the only things that live forever." Let this remind us, ancestors of the future, to put on record without delay whatever is of permanent interest in our experience. Just think of it; fifty, sixty, seventy years, or more, of life, with all its daily happenings, and not a line to show we ever existed! Nothing to pass on in the way of honor, wealth or even one written page of family history.

It is natural that we should be hero-worshippers, proud of kinship with genius and worth, the desire for sympathy and esteem is universal. Yes, we are all happy in the approbation of our fellow men. Here, probably, is the strongest incentive to hunting up distinguished connections, and getting a coat-of-arms. We can hardly imagine man or

woman, shipwrecked on a desert island, where was the finest genealogical library in the world, ferreting out illustrious progenitors. There would be no one to astonish by the revelation.

Hereditary Patriotic Societies.

Filling out application papers for membership in the hereditary societies is often the first enticement to genealogical work; but after the initial steps are taken, the subject itself grows intensely interesting. A passion for this labor of family love develops with amazing rapidity in many cases, and zeal never flags until, with infinite patience, the lineage is completed, or the chart filled up back to the Revolution, to colonial wars, or to the "Mayflower," of unlimited carrying capacity. Some tribe tracers undertake to go back as far as they can. They cross the Atlantic (in books, not boats) and follow the trail, with ancestor fire blazing in their eyes, keeping on and on, day after day, haggard with fatigue, going through docket, deed and "Domesday Boke," through many an ancient tome, dry cartulary, tiresome chronicles, desperately stale documents, always seeking one name. When found, everybody within hearing is notified of the fact; or if some great honor is unearthed, they utter exclamations of joy, and the incunabulum wherein it was found becomes to them a fairyland of delight.

To the distinterested observer, one of these explorers appears much like a dance seen through a tiny opening in a wall. The music within unheard, and his companions invisible, the dancer's antics and the genealogist's blissful drudgery seem equally ridiculous. The observer does not see the lovely forms of the past beckoning him mentally on, nor does he realize the love of kindred which charms and lures him onward, with such terrible tenacity of purpose.

The whole world rings with accounts of celebrations, receptions to distinguished visitors and patriotic achievements of the sons and daughters of the American Revolution, and numerous other hereditary societies. A Cincinnati lady of wealth and culture, wearing the society badge of the "Daughters" was recently heard making this remark as she significantly touched the little blue wheel: "I've traveled enough to know that *this* is a badge of ladyship." She then explained that when in a strange town she met a woman wearing that emblem, she felt perfectly safe in addressing her without a formal introduction. If it became necessary, for any political reason, to appeal to natives of the United States exclusively, where, but in such associations, could they be found together?

As far west as the home of the Latter Day Saints, and the Pacific Coast people are waked up and anxious to make their title clear to membership in these commemorative societies. Recently, at Newberry Library, a young man, bent upon finding a military ancestor, after hours of fruitless search, exclaimed in despair: "My grandfathers were all preachers and professional men, not one of them carried a gun." He might win distinction at the next peace convention. A woman with a German name, through which she hoped to become a "joiner" recently

made out her application papers on account of descent from a Hessian grenadier, who, of course, had sold himself to the British, and was one of those convention troops in the habit of pinning American soldiers to the trees with their bayonets.

Some wealthy Americans who have bought coronets for their daughters, or old families enriched by royal grants, claim descent from Loyalists, and refuse to join the patriotic societies; but they do not belong to the West.

There were about 400,000 continental and militia men in the Revolutionary War, and every man of them badly wanted by somebody today as an ancestor. Our published war records are not yet complete, although we have Hamersley, Heitman and Powell's Lists of Revolutionary Officers of almost every state, and military records and rosters of all wars.

The Roll of Honor of Revolutionary men in the D. A. R. Lineage Books is a boon to seekers of ancestors. When other resources fail, we are permitted to write to the United States Commissioner of Pensions, War Department, Washington, D. C., or if the one we seek was not pensioned, we may write to the U. S. Adjutant General at the same War Department, and ask for the military history, or certificate of service of the Revolutionary soldier sought. For colonial warriors we have Hubbard's Indian Wars, Bodge's Soldiers in King Philip's War, books on the French and Indian Wars, or records of the colonial period.

Selecting a Working Plan or Form.

There are several patented devices for holding notes, or preserving family records. Bookstores keep them in stock. A chart square, radical or fan-shaped, where the entire compilation may be seen at one view is not as popular as it once was; and the natural tree, with trunk, branches and twigs has completely gone out of fashion, the written-in names being too small, too numerous and bewildering. Many adopt the note book of loose, perforated leaves, capable of indefinite expansion, with a binder to hold them. Another plan is to have a box full of paper cut of uniform size, with the letters of the alphabet, or different surnames pasted on and elevated a little above the top edge of the paper. This when completed forms an index. The New England Register system of denoting relationships by figures, paragraphing, and difference in type, is the standard in printing material.

We have seen works typewritten and very elegantly bound in velvet, silk embroidered, or hand painted leather, profusely illustrated with coats of arms, drawings of old homesteads, photographs of heirlooms and interesting portraits. This makes an edition de luxe. One such production contained a daughter's picture taken every birthday, except the first, the series forming a progressive study in heredity and evolution when compared with other portraits in the book. According to the taste of the owner these very precious volumes are kept in view for visitors to admire or they are hidden away to be seen only by near relatives. So

many fanciful family romances are afloat that certain people have grown incredulous in regard to genealogically derived superiority. They find listening to recitations of family eulogies, or lineages compiled from Browning and Burke tiresome, to put it mildly, unless they intend to marry into the family.

There are a few eccentrics, successful men proud of their own strength, who freely own that all before them in their family were, from a worldly standpoint, human failures. They are the Napoleons of their tribe. We have also heard some brave souls admit that their great-grandfathers were steerage passengers, buccaneers or marooners, or otherwise led a lurid life among free-booters.

Publishing.

Publishing a book is a long story. None but an experienced publisher of such works (found in all large cities) can produce the tables, charts, and special forms in satisfactory shape. Typographical errors in dates or spelling are disastrous and misleading to future compilers.

The first family history ever printed in America is said to be the "Genealogy of Samuel and Hannah Stebbins," Hartford, 1771, reprinted in Boston, 1879. It consists of 31 pages, and a folded sheet.

We frequently hear people lamenting the loss of valuable manuscript records by fire or carelessness. The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society now has a department of Registration of Pedigrees; and for $15.00 they offer to edit and publish any family records, which will appear in periodical book form.

Time Required to Complete Work.

The time necessary for compilation depends, of course, upon the object in view. A blank application for membership in one of the societies may sometimes be filled out in one hour. Some lines can be traced farther back in a day than others in a year for obvious reasons. But few people try to travel back of ten generations unless a complete family history is planned; in that case, twenty or thirty years may pleasantly pass away ere the task is completed.

One lineage is the ordinary undertaking, but genealogy in its broadest sense is made up of a chain of lineages, all springing from ancestor number one. Each generation (33 years) is reckoned one degree nearer the inquirer. In ten generations a wedded pair might be the ancestors of more than 500 souls, and it has been estimated (See Journal of American History, Vol. 3, page 146) that one's ancestors in twenty-five generations are apparently over sixteen millions (16,000,000). That word "ancestor" in England means any person from whom an heir inherits property. In America it is synonymous with "progenitor" or "forefather." We had two parents, four grandparents. Going back at this rate, it has been calculated one man's ancestors at some point in ancient history equalled the entire population of the globe. Every individual, at that indefinite time, was a progenitor (except the childless) of everybody in this generation. There have always been kings or chiefs. It therefore

follows that everybody is of royal descent. To be sure, kings have not always been noblemen, which, through heredity, accounts for the low and vicious "submerged."

Preliminary Investigations.

There is a well-known aphorism, "You get out of a thing what you take to it." This applies beautifully to the beginning of genealogical search. You must know the individuals you are looking for. If you are hunting up your great-grandfather, you ought to ascertain his given name from some member of the family, otherwise he might appear before you on a page and you perchance would pass him by as a stranger. A starting point two or three generations back, therefore, is necessary with a clue here and there and sufficient vital records (if such a thing were possible); persistence will do the rest. When told that they must interview all old people in the family, nearly everybody says: "Oh, I never thought of genealogy. I took no interest in such work until my grandparents were gone. They often told me the story of my great-grandfather in the Revolution, and the tradition about, etc., etc." It is all vaguely remembered now, but they expect to resurrect it in books. These oral traditions are always unsafe to build family history upon, but many an airy superstructure is erected on just such visionary hilltops.

Occasionally, nothing is indexed on an uncommon name. In such cases, as a last resort, it may be looked for in city "Blue Books," in "Who's Who in America," or in city directories. This may possibly lead to profitable correspondence. Information must inevitably be gained under great difficulties, when nothing whatever has previously been done towards compiling a family history. The genealogical columns of certain newspapers, like the Boston *Transcript,* or New York *Mail and Express,* and others in London, Paris and Berlin (the names can be obtained from consuls) are often used to bring together by correspondence persons interested in the same family. Where vital records of any town are not published, the recorder of such records in that town, on being written to, will, for a consideration, copy and forward what is needed.

Question Sheets.

We heard one man say he had sent 10,000 question sheets to people throughout the country, supposed to be interested in the genealogy he was compiling, and he expected very few of these sheets would be returned properly filled in with names, dates, residences and other particulars requested. Errors are unavoidable unless the statements thus collected by mail are verified; which accounts for the fact that family histories are never trustworthy authorities for succeeding compilers to copy from. Nevertheless these histories are the first books to be consulted.

After interviewing relatives orally or by letter, collecting home documents, and exhausting all original resources, the next step in the process is to visit libraries, historical societies or any convenient collection of genealogical works; for, it is currently reported, that everybody on earth is rounded up, classified and labeled in books.

The building of a lineage from scattered materials is a veritable Panama Canal of an undertaking. Digging is the word, first and last. But we promise all who work with absolute honesty of purpose a noble ancestry, because it is in their blood. Once aroused, visitors to a genealogical collection need no encouragement. They are invariably ablaze with zeal and persevere in the face of little or no success. They take up book after book, examine the index for the name they want, copy a date from the page referred to, discard that volume for another, and another, and an unlimited number of others. Books, books, and more books! they cry. Chancing upon some unexpected material, on they go, as in seven-leagued boots over enchanted ground. If interest is awakened in the setting, or historical background of the characters in the story, then one class of books leads to another, history points to geography, geography to seats of noblemen, or architecture. This suggests social life of the period, art, and all associations making the past realistic.

Guide Books for Searchers.

There are several published manuals of practical suggestions by veteran genealogists, like Henry R. Stiles or W. S. Mills, intended to give counsel, assistance, or hints to amateurs. But any visitor to the large genealogical collections will probably find in shape persons to act as guides at the start. After a good beginning is made, one thing leads to another and certain cases need special treatment.

Difficulties on the Way.

Difficulties meet one all along the way in genealogy; abbreviations only understood by the experienced, old English texts unfamiliar except to specialists, technicalities in original sources, obsolete phrases, manuscripts in court handwriting, dates in old style and new style, not to mention the celebrated "lost links." All these troubles are among the wickedest of time, strength and money consumers.

It is at once pitiful, laughable and admirable to witness the crucifixion of toil amateurs endure in pursuit of names to supply "lost links." A volume the size of Webster's Dictionary, and just as interesting, might be written on this subject of "lost links." These exasperating gaps are very often filled up in desperation, with some similar name and approximate date, not exactly matching the rest of the lineage and forever after protesting against the misfit; but something must be done, otherwise the American part of the lineage will be left hanging in the air, as it were.

A woman is frequently a "lost link." American aborigines traced relationship through the mother only, but Englishmen trace only the male line through whom the family name and fortune is transmitted. Early American genealogists imitated English ancestors. As a rule the maternal side ranks socially highest in this country, because men try to better their position by marriage and women must wait to be wooed.

Professional Genealogists.

Personal attention to genealogy is far preferable to employing a compiler, but insurmountable difficulties or other reasons may compel us to visit the professional genealogist. He does not possess that inward light as to collaterals, he cannot have love for our subject, nor has he that mysterious, unexplainable psychological power of attraction, with which every soul is charged to draw his very own to him. Emerson thus expresses it:

"All that nature made thine own,
Floating in air, or pent in stone,
Will rive the hills, and swim the sea,
And, like thy shadow, follow thee."

If a member of the family is working and comes unexpectedly upon some indirectly related honor, he recognizes and secures it, while the professional not fully informed would naturally pass it over.

Then there is the expense. Faithful tracing cannot be obtained for less than living prices, 50 or 75 cents an hour, whether anything is found or not. Two dollars per day, and $5.00 or $10.00 in advance for hunting up Revolutionary or colonial ancestors are the lowest charges for reliable work, which means giving authorities for every important statement made, so that each point may afterwards be verified. A certain Delaware genealogist charges $5.00 per day and expenses, with a fee of $25.00 in advance.

The scholarly, experienced, laborious and critical genealogist, often trained in Europe, will charge $100 per day for expert service in tracing difficult lines. He expects to travel from library to library, is familiar with unusual resources, and, if possible, carries the lineage to Europe. Our well known multi-millionaires have all employed these wonderful genealogical acrobats. Rockefeller has been traced through the Averys to Duncan I, King of Scots, 1033. J. Pierpont Morgan was told (but he did not believe it) that his lineage ran to Roderic the Great, King of Wales. John Jacob Astor of Waldorf was found to be a descendant of Hugh Capet, King of France (about 900 A D.). According to Browning there are thousands of Americans of royal descent. William the Conqueror alone has in America an immense army of alleged descendants.

The Mormons have a pretty idea that each name we resurrect, revere and transcribe in genealogy represents a living spirit, who thus honored and, as it were, invoked, ever after becomes one of our guardian angels. Think of having thousands of such beneficent spirits as protectors. We are told that in ten generations or 300 years of genealogy there may be 500 different surnames. It is important to know the origin and meaning of these names. Books by Anderson, Bardsley, Lower, and many others show sources and signification of family and given names.

Sometimes it is necessary to look up changed names. Surnames did not come into use until the beginning of the twelfth century; as we see in the Bible and Classics and first ages of the world, personal names

sufficed. Even today the church in baptism ignores the family name, and kings still cling to the old custom. To the professional genealogist any name conveys a certain weight of character, according to its historical association. The charm of certain names is felt by all. One comes with a happy suggestion, another evokes the opposite emotion.

If parents gave all children for a middle name the surname of the mother, it would be an easy means of identification of descendants. The Puritans had a sensible custom of naming the oldest son after the father, a fact often depended upon as a link between generations. Varieties in spelling surnames create difficulties for lawyers as well as genealogists. Names are changed on account of succession to property, by will, to perpetuate a family name otherwise extinct in the male line, to honor some admired person, or through mere whim. Fifty dollars has often been paid to the circuit court for permission to assume a more pleasing name than—for instance—Zschuppe, or Proschowsky. It is common to find two persons of one name and occupation in the directories of large cities; time sweeps away all other evidence of identity. Here is a pitfall for present and future genealogists.

In hunting up Smiths, Johnsons, or Browns, they must be localized or a mixup is inevitable. A lady recently entered a genealogical department and said, "My father's name was Jones. I want to trace back to Admiral John Paul Jones." She was somewhat disconcerted when told that Jones was an assumed name.

This deliberate choice of a hero, statesman, or some person of wealth, genius, or celebrity of the same surname, is a common method of beginning the work of building a lineage. Whether the illustrious shades feel flattered or not by such imposition of descendants, who can say, but they were never known to complain.

Family Antiquity Desired.

Voltaire has said, "No family on earth knows its founder, no nation knows its origin," but a pioneer has the deed of greatness in his nature. Antiquity is the goal and 1066 in England is the date most American genealogists aim to reach, though it is said only 111 lineages in Burke's Peerage run back to the Norman Conquest, and few British parish records antedate 1500. The very earliest Herald's Visitation was in the reign of Henry IV about 1412. It was called "Visitatio facta per marischallum de Norry," and is preserved in the Harleian Library. Regular visitations did not begin until 100 years later and they are no longer made in England.

As a rule Americans, in their journey towards antiquity, are obliged to start into the unknown with the name of their grandparents, but one woman, trying to substantiate her claim to an estate, hoped to learn in library books the given name of her own father. She explained that her mother died and her father remarried and followed his first wife to a better world while she was an infant; nevertheless, she expected to find her family tree, with its deeply planted roots, flourishing at Newberry Library, with her own name and portrait conspicuous in the top

branches. Another woman, more fortunate as to antiquity, recently said to an attendant, "I find I have blood 700 years old in my veins," the person she addressed gazed at her with awe and consternation.

Settlers.

Hotten's Emigrant book, Drake's Founders of New England, Rupp's Immigrants, in Pennsylvania, and Water's Gleanings in England, also Savage's Genealogical Dictionary of Settlers in New England (nearly all emigrants before 1640, the date when Hutchinson tells us immigration ceased) are the indispensable reference works in which to look for the first mention of settlers. We find scattered ship lists in the Pennsylvania Magazine, in Essex Institute Historical Collections and other periodicals, but of later date. Ships left England for America nearly every day during the early period of our history; but no record of their passengers remains and many such lists, yet among the mass of papers at the London Record Office, are still uncatalogued.

Very valuable lists of emigrants were destroyed in 1831 at Bristol when rioters burned the Custom House there. For late comers Lloyd's Shipping Register, and Records of the Emigration Office in London, might be serviceable. There is also an "International Register of Shipping" in New York. We have referred to the different classes of "settlers," persons to whom royal land grants were made, Palatines and Lords Proprietor, well born political refugees, younger sons of impoverished nobility, religious fanatics, Puritans, Hugenots, Quakers, Covenanters, etc., and outcasts, who, let us hope, reformed before their descendants appeared. To these we might add, as a distinct class, the everlasting "three brothers who came over" so often that the mere mention of them causes a smile; but they really must have landed, because their descendants are found among the pioneers of every state. All of these emigrants, except those with land grants, arrived in our country under adverse circumstances, and this explains our present difficulty in connecting American lineages with the old world and antiquity.

Foreigners.

The advantages of our nation are distributed among all races of the earth represented now in the United States. We have at present an intermixture in business and society of more than 2,000,000 Germans, 1,000,000 Irish, 500,000 Swedes and less of other nationalities of western states. Illinois, Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin have attracted most foreigners. Births among these transplanted families are nearly double those of native Americans. In Chicago, ranking sixth among cities of the earth in population, many descendants of foreign born emigrants visit the libraries, anxious to gain some clue to European ancestors. Foreign names in available books now in western libraries relate chiefly to nobility. Vital records of European cities, except in Great Britain, are not to be found. In such cases the only resource is to apply to foreign embassies, legations or consuls. In Chicago there are now

thirty-three consuls, able to furnish addresses in their own country of persons who might investigate homeland records and report on genealogical subjects.

Directories of all large cities in the United States at the public service in libraries may also be searched for addresses of persons of the same surname, who through correspondence might afford information about the origin of the family. For Irish genealogy the keeper of Parochial Registers in the county wanted should be addressed or for deeds and wills. The Four Courts, on King's Inn Quay, Dublin, or the Librarian of the National Library, Leinster St., Dublin, may be applied to by letter. Few wills are to be found previous to the seventeenth century. As to Scotland, the records of the entire kingdom are at the General Register House, Princess St., Edinburgh. Again periodicals and newspapers, either wholly or in part devoted to genealogy, are convenient in bringing persons together through correspondence; by this means distant relatives often become acquainted.

Next of Kin—Estates.

Numerous people are impelled to work out their lineage by the legal necessity for establishing lines of descent, in order to decide questions of inheritance, or to trace titles to real estate. There are some twenty or more well known phantom estates constantly affording opportunities to rapacious claim lawyers, who urge their victims to chart plainly their line of heirship, after notifying them of the alleged fact that their alleged ancestor had died intestate. Who has not heard of the Anneke Jans claim of many millions; the Jennings Estate of four hundred millions awaiting heirs; the Lawrence-Townley five hundred millions to be divided among only 1,000 heirs? We are all reminded of Dicken's Jarndyce vs. Jarndyce.

There are people of the following names entitled to shares in mythical estates: Baker, Mosher, Chadwick, Edwards, Ingraham, Hyde, Hedges, Kern, Leak, Mackey, Merritt, Shepherd Trotter, VanHorn, Webber, Weiss, and others.

Property rights in England are cruelly strict; but occasionally heirs of persons who have died intestate are advertised for in English newspapers, and several firms in London (Dougal, Chambers, Usher, Gun, Bernerdy & Co.) have periodically published names of Americans supposed to be entitled to this unclaimed wealth. Lawyers make it their business to keep track of these claims, and send hundreds of people yearly to genealogists. An enormous amount of money is wasted, and much futile ransacking of books is the result.

A woman entered the library one day and said to an attendant in a whisper, "I want to look up my family history." "What name, please?" "Oh, I don't want to tell you the name. Can't I get at the books myself?" She was referred to the alphabetical index, and presently she was obliged to impart the important fact that a lawyer had advised her

of her heirship to a million or so from the Anneke Jans Estate. She feared to speak of it, lest somebody should take premature advantage of her in some way.

Royal Descent.

Genealogy is a delight when it contributes to self-esteem. In the middle ages, the word "gentleman" indicated one not dependent on a weekly wage. Today the English "gentleman" of coat-armor is a man of inherited wealth, education, and certain superficial accomplishments. The quality of "gentleman" in America is inherited, often without wealth, but his antecedents are usually not hard to find in this country. As a nation, we have emerged from the backwoods, without hatchet or hoe, and now seek all that makes for the highest civilization.

Pupils in fashionable schools of the West are busy with Burke, Debrett, Jacobs and Edmondston, to make sure of a titled grandsire, in addition to ordinary accomplishments. Many tricks are being played with rank, heraldry, and regal flummery. It is another matter to verify charts containing names which scintillate like fixed stars in the foreign or local historical heaven. Celebrities as well as obscurities, attract more attention dead than when living, so it is a consolation to know that when needed, we are sure of future resurrection, at least by some anxious genealogist.

Not only do we see an endless procession of untitled natives at Newberry Library, but among our visitors to the genealogical department, there have recently been a countess and marquis from France, several Lords and Ladyships from England, a Baron or so from Germany, and a few choice Italians, amusing themselves with the outfit on Heraldry and foreign lineage.

Time effects wondrous changes. In Burke's Vicissitudes of Families, we read that a butcher and a toll gatherer had a right to quarter the royal arms of Edward I. Edward III had a sexton among his posterity and a cousin of James VI stood in the streets of Edinburg, hat in hand, begging for sixpence. Trade uproots aristocracy and causes genealogical eccentricities. Entailment of property in England, leaving younger sons a mere pittance, caused families to emigrate and descend in the social scale. Munro in his "Story of the British Race" says, "Who shall deny that the beggar at his door, may not descend from Kings." This very day we saw in our newspaper the picture of a handsome Countess who has adopted a humble trade in Paris as means of support. To many Americans in the West affiliation with illustrious ancestors, however remote, is not only gratifying but inspiring. This yearning reveals to each of us our awful responsibility in regard to the happiness of descendants.

Edward III has 6,000 descendants and many Americans can be honestly charted into his lineage. We hear much of the reproach supposed to be due to self-respecting individuals in a republic, who claim aristocratic English ancestors or who stamp their stationary with a coat-of-arms. In 1904, a so-called "hoax" appeared in the shape of a "Bulletin" containing names of Americans of "exalted rank" who had been

officially notified of their undoubted social supremacy in the United States. Although finally admitted to be a huge joke, the families named, with few exceptions, were really of historic and social eminence. The clever cartoonist McCutcheon seized upon the situation of course, and his illustration of how "society" was affected, created considerable amusement among certain classes.

When some socially ambitious Westerner tabulated as he believes a clear line to the family of an English nobleman, he sometimes tries to realize his happiness by addressing the lord of the castle, with manuscript evidence of his kinship. The recipient probably smiles scornfully at the audacity of his long lost American cousin, ("in trade") some 20 times removed, and proceeds to remove him still farther by strict silence, but we heard of one courteous response from a real English nobleman thus saluted; and the American was courteously invited to visit his lordship in England.

As time passes, new reference books appear, like Browning's "Americans of Royal Descent" and "Americans of Gentle Birth." The preface to the latter states that, "Thousands of American women bear in their veins the best blood of the most noble and royal lines of Europe, and their fitness for the seats of the mighty, in which many have been installed, is merely a racial inheritance." We learn by recent notices that it is easy to get coveted orders and decorations from various courts in Europe and Asia, if you can afford it.

The prices quoted from a newspaper are about as follows:

A German patent of nobility	$65,000
Spanish noble	5,000
Portuguese Marquis	5,000
Title of "Prince" from the Vatican	15,000
Duke	10,000
Count	1,250
Baron	800
Turkish Osmanje Order	2,500
Turkish Crefakat Order	5,000

but we understand there are no "bargain days" for these choice goods.

Relics and Heirlooms.

Heirlooms are the most genuine patents to gentle birth and stability of fortune. Pioneers who lived in block-house communities or in log cabins were heirs of misfortune and sacrifice. If they possessed valuables, they were subjected to accidents or bartered for necessities. Protected by vigilance committees or councils of safety, often journeying in emigrant wagons drawn by oxen, their most precious treasure was likely to be a flint-lock musket, and many of these grim evidences of heroism have passed into possession of families whose ancestors never owned a gun.

But in the seventeenth century we know some of the best blood of England was transplanted to our country, and these English gentlemen created stately mansions in the new world named after their ancestral hall. They were among our early statesmen, financiers and capitalists. Their residences were furnished with mahogany, high post court bed-

steads and dressing tables, high cases and chairs ornamented with bronze scroll work, richly carved oak screens, cabinets, chests and settles with candle stick holder. Their dining rooms were brilliant with sterling silver plate, each piece of the set engraved with the family coat of arms, tankards, tea-kettles in silver stands, etc.

Elsewhere about the home were luxurious smaller objects, which have drifted into curiosity shops or historical societies, when family fortunes declined or the line died out, and the mansion perhaps was turned into a museum or tavern, as we see it today. Such articles are always eagerly picked up by people of means who find these rich antiques significant as indicating social position.

For this purpose a second hand Bible is sometimes purchased in England, the older the better; and if records copied therein are not found to antedate the publication, all is well. But of all heirlooms, the most highly prized is the gallery of ancestral portraits, painted in oil. Not many such collections are found in the West. There is a world of pathos in heirlooms. This very day a woman came to the Library, carrying a large package, which being unfolded, we saw a door which had been unhinged from a writing desk, 300 years old. The door was of the most beautiful woods, and in the center was an inlaid coat of arms, which must have been constructed by some European workman with great skill and patience. There were some letters also inwrought. The woman said she had rented a room to a mysterious and reticent man, who when dying told her the desk was a family heirloom, the last possession of a man who had inherited title and fortune; but he told her no more and she came with this relic to try and learn its probable origin.

Heraldry.

Young people and many older ones begin genealogical work with heraldry. Their first remark is, "I want to get my crest," not knowing the difference between a "crest" and "arms." Up to the fourteenth century only three crests had been used. They belong only to men and reigning queens, though English ladies sometimes use them as book marks.

In feudal times, at tournaments when competitors appeared, the Herald sounded a trumpet and explained the bearing or figures on the shield carried by each knight. The shields were then given to retainers disguised as lions, tigers or other animals. This is the origin of supporters. The shield they held for their masters, was made of wood, metals and furs, with buckler of leather and brass.

The use of arms was very limited for the first hundred years of our history, but colonists brought their seals with them. The arms of George Washington were forever honored in "Old Glory" our national emblem. Before 1760, arms were seen sculptured on New England tombstones in chasings upon plate, on candlesticks, watches and silverware, seals, wills, deeds and letters painted on canvas, or wrought by the needle in tapestries. In the New England Register, vol. 45, page 187, we find a

list of authorized arms of New England Settlers, although a previous issue stated that none of the Mayflower passengers were arm bearers. Of course, in America, we have no Heraldic College, Court, or Earl Marshall, and there is no law forbidding indulgence in taste as to heraldry. If one has a perfect title to bear arms, doubtless they are impressive under certain circumstances. There are peers of the realm in England without arms from choice, believing that true nobility is not in heraldry but in the heart and head.

The English College of Heraldry was granted a charter by Richard III, in 1483. Its officers, the Earl Marshall or President, (hereditary in the Howard family), the King at Arms, six Heralds and several pursuivants or assistants are all attached to the King's Household, and from His Majesty receive a nominal salary, but their income is derived mainly from fees. The grant of arms from the King is patented and recorded at Herald's College. The grantee's son pays another large fee to have his father's arms confirmed to him, with proper label added as first son. This makes a cost of arms lawful in England and Wales, although doubtless many unrecorded grants are genuine. There are few entries of descent from the grantee beyond the next generation. A man in the street cannot obtain from the College of Heraldry a grant of arms for a fee. It is a matter of favor from the sovereign.

In Germany any citizen may originate a coat of arms, have it properly recorded with description and it becomes hereditary in his family. The blazoning memorializes in picturesque history the character of the one who adopts it, or of his ancestor. Every picture tells a story and that on a shield testified to the heroism or nobility of its first bearer. All lineal descendants may use it.

In the United States we have a system of ensigns in our flag seals, society badges, buttons and medals of honor granted by Congress instead of by a king, and each symbolizes the achievements of our ancestors in America.

But English, or old world, heraldry carries the idea of chivalry and pomp of courts; and coats of arms are important to us as evidences of connection between families of the two continents who have long used the same device.

The symbolism of coats of arms, and the motto, which was the war cry of bearer is to most people, the most fascinating part of heraldry. It would be tedious to go into details, but we will remind you that color which had the same significance among all ancient people has the same meaning in heraldry.

Argent, or silver, is purity; azure, loyalty; red is a royal and martial color and also signified the martyr; gold typifies wealth; orange or tawney represents ambition; purple belongs to majesty; green shows strength and black, fame.

One of the most charming emblems of the crusader is the red rose, which was brought about 1270 from the Holy Land by the Count of Champagne. He planted it in his castle garden at Provence, France. His daughter married an Englishman who carried this oriental plant to

England, and from that single bush all red roses in Europe have descended. Its symbolism is that inner essence, or character, transcends all outer grandeur.

The sun means glory. The cross and escallop shell, star, crescent, bezant, water bougets, and pilgrim's staves were imported into heraldry in token of crusaders. The lion so frequently used in various specially significant positions in general indicates courage, majesty, and strength.

Previous to 1500, arms were used as signatures to documents and as seals upon legal papers, dated the year of the reigning king. Englishmen pay large fees to the College of Heraldry, and a small one yearly to the national revenue for exclusive right to a certain combination of figures and colors. They regard it as a kind of piracy, for any one of doubtful kinship to use the same. In Tudor times heralds went about defacing arms on tombs and elsewhere, not rightfully used. Dugdale allows any claim to arms used uninterruptedly for 100 years.

There are British-American clubs in London intended for American millionaires who wear a special cockade or badge. "The Amphitryon," "Atlantic" and one recently organized called "The American Club," which admits as members only those whose family has possessed a coat of arms for 100 years or, as they style it, "he must have a name 100 years old." This is supposed to insure inherent gentility. Lowell tells us it takes three generations to make a gentleman. The name signifies nothing. An American Courtenay, Buckingham, Howard or Granville must show his pedigree.

The Herald's Office preserves with great care the records of English gentry transplanted to America before the revolution. Many of them emerged from their sometimes obscure positions, and became substantial planters, or rich merchants, famous in the social history of colonial America.

For the benefit of "assumers" of coat armor, we quote Sir George Sitwell in "The Ancestor," vol. 1. He says, "The Royal Proclamation of 1417 (Reign of Henry V) admits unreservedly that long usage gives good title to arms assumed without authority. Any subject may lawfully assume arms of his own mere notion." Please note that this was before the London College of Arms, with its enormous fees, was founded. Lord Hetherly also tells us that nine-tenths of the present English arm bearers can show no better title to their armorial devices than long usage.

The "Book of St. Albans" 1486, is said to be the earliest English printed treatise on heraldry. Today "Burke's General Armory" stands first among many such reference books. The Fox-Davies publications are issued in the interest of the College of Heraldry, and in the "Armorial Families" the so-called "Bogus" arms are printed in italics.

From the foregoing we gather that if an American citizen's social position justifies such redundance, and he has a right by inheritance or long use to bear arms, or if he frankly admits that his coat-of-arms is merely assumed as a memento of the past, or as a previous relic of foreign antecedents, in such cases heraldry in the United States is as inoffensive as any other luxurious fashion. When the matter is taken seriously, cultured persons apply directly to European officials, at the College of

Heraldry, for authority to bear arms. A letter dated January 13, 1908, from H. Farnham Burke, Somerset Herald and Register at the College, London, says, in reply to a question about legal American heraldry, that such work as Croziers', Matthews', and others supposed to be reliable as registers of verified American Heraldry, are "no authority for ascribing the arms to the persons to whom they attribute them."

This leaves us nothing to do but apply to Herald's College, or to Burke's forthcoming work on "Prominent Families in the United States of America." He who finds not his arms and lineage there, will probably be a crushed man.

We must cautiously hint here that indications show coats-of-arms are becoming too popular here. Their use in certain quarters is founded on the idea that all persons of similar name are probably related, near or far, and honor conferred on an English knight named, for instance, Tracy should reflect dignity on all Tracys in America. Such was the plea of a recent visitor to a genealogical department in Chicago. The coat he wore which should have been in the rag bag, was as much misplaced as the coat-of-arms he assumed. His bare feet were plainly visible through openings in his boots. All he wanted he said was his coat-of-arms painted large in brilliant colors. It was executed (mark that word) at bargain rates, and we gazed in admiration at that noble westerner marching merrily away with the big roll under his arm.

Another individual, looking at heraldry from a commercial standpoint, interviewed a librarian as to the probable profit in selling at department stores, heraldic bearings, in form of plaster plaques, illustrating arms connected with the commonest names found in city directories. His scheme met with disapproval but we believe it would pay—for awhile.

American Bureau of Genealogy.

An American Headquarters for accurately tracing, from vital statistics and official documents, and for officially recording, family history is imperative.

It is becoming customary for persons interested in such compilations to journey from town to town in New England, copying vital records, wills, and deeds from manuscripts in public offices, churches or still scattered about in attics, lumber rooms and dust chests of old homesteads. Of course, all of these will some time be published. Massachusetts and Rhode Island have taken the lead in this useful work.

A department of similar records of foreign countries is needed. Scholarly officials would be necessary to superintend and translate for visitors. Connected with the Bureau might be a training school for genealogists, who, when qualified, would have a diploma as evidence.

There also all American badges of personal distinction conferred by Congress, or otherwise, and all verified coats-of-arms might be registered, as in London. The library would contain histories of mankind; works on the origin, growth and decline of nations; scientific volumes on heredity and human nature; manuals of heraldry, nobility, orders, seals, medals, badges, and other decorations; but especially would it be head-

quarters for all government publications useful in studying personal history, serial publications of genealogical associations, Year books of hereditary societies, histories of nationalities in America, in short, all classes of works for exact sorting of souls.

The founder of such an institution would be entitled to universal gratitude as a national benefactor for all time; and the Congressional Library, Washington, D. C., where all copyrighted works published in America are deposited, seems to be its destined home.

It seems strange that the temporary inhabitants of a planet, rolling through space and torn by storm and earthquake should value fame so much and be so strenuous in hunting up and recording their lineage. Weird and wonderful it appears to library attendants who view the endless procession and witness the tireless energy of man's efforts to discover "lost links." But back of all this labor is eternal wisdom; therefore we know that the placing of one date may be of as much importance in God's plan, as the commemoration of an Empire. Morever, we realize that each man is unique, descending, as he does from totally distinct lines of ancestors. No one will ever be exactly like him again. At the time and place of his brief existence, he must be indispensable, as part of an intricate machine. Thus we justify our right to exist and preserve our family histories, as part of the annals of the universe.

THE SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS—SOME FAMOUS POLITICAL COMBATS.

By J. McCan Davis.

Prior to 1847 the senator from Illinois was of less importance than he became in the years that followed. In the first twenty-nine years of our statehood eleven men held the office of United States Senator from Illinois. They were for the most part able men, men of honorable distinction in their own state and in their own time. But with perhaps one or two exceptions none was to be considered a national character; none left a lasting impress upon national legislation; and such is the oblivion that comes even to men who are adjudged great by their contemporaries that the average student of Illinois history will probably have difficulty in recalling off-hand the name of any of the eleven senators from Illinois who served during the period mentioned.

Since 1847 a relatively smaller number of men have received senatorial honors (the number being only fourteen in this period of sixty-two years, against eleven in the preceding twenty-nine years), but the number has included several of the most distinguished statesmen of the 19th century—some of whom have risen to colossal stature in our heroic annals, and several of whom have had a large part in shaping the destinies of this republic. What I say on this occasion, therefore, will relate mostly to the senators of this second epoch.

In the early days men were ambitious quite as much as now, and it rarely happened that the office of United States Senator was secured by any man without a contest. In those early days there was not the rigid party organization that developed later on, and when a senator was to be elected the Legislature convened in joint assembly and the names of candidates were presented without the preliminary of a caucus nomination. The first senatorial contest of note may be said to have been that of 1824, when two senators were to be elected. It required three ballots to elect John McLean for the short term ending the following March, and ten ballots to elect Elias Kent Kane for the full term beginning on the 4th of March. It was not until 1830 that the honor was conferred upon a candidate by a unanimous vote of the assembly—John McLean being reëlected without opposition.

The party caucus made its appearance for the first time in a senatorial election in 1840. The Democratic members of the legislature held a caucus, nominating Samuel McRoberts, and he was elected at the joint session December 16 of that year. The custom thus introduced by the Democrats was subsequently adopted by the Whigs, and later by

the Republicans, so that since 1840 the party caucus has decided almost every senatorial election in advance of the formal ballot in the General Assembly. The first notable contest in a senatorial caucus occurred Dec. 9, 1842. It was the second senatorial caucus held by the Democrats. Richard M. Young was the senator whose term was to expire. He was a candidate for reëlection. The other candidates were Stephen A. Douglas, then not quite 30 years of age; Sidney Breese, and John A. McClernand. The caucus began at 7:00 o'clock in the evening and continued six hours, adjourning at 1:00 o'clock a. m. The contest narrowed down to one between Douglas and Breese. On the 19th ballot Judge Breese was nominated, the ballot resulting: Breese, 56; Douglas, 52; McClernand, 3. The election of Breese by the General Assembly followed by a party vote.

Four years later, Stephen A. Douglas, who had thus almost captured the senatorship, was practically the unanimous choice of the Democratic caucus. He was elected United States Senator Dec. 13, 1846, and his election was followed by a spectacular celebration—a banquet in the senate chamber and a ball in the House of Representatives in the old State house.

The election of Douglas marked the beginning of the new senatorial epoch in Illinois. Douglas, who had come to Illinois only thirteen years before, an unknown, penniless youth from Vermont, had risen with marvelous rapidity, and now, at the age of 33 years, after service in the Legislature, on the bench of the Supreme Court, and in the lower House of Congress, he found himself the recipient of the highest honor within the gift of his State—the office of United States Senator. Although he was viewed with jealousy and with some alarm by the older politicians, Douglas moved forward in the Senate as rapidly as he had climbed in the politics of his State. His tireless energy, his keen intellect, and his persuasive eloquence soon made him one of the leading members of the Senate. He performed a most important part in the framing and the passage of the compromise measures of 1850. By 1852, before the end of his first term in the Senate, he was a formidable candidate for President of the United States. In 1854 he became the most talked-of man in the country by reason of the passage of his Kansas-Nebraska bill, founded upon his doctrine of "popular sovereignty." In 1856 Abraham Lincoln paid this high tribute to Douglas:

"Twenty years ago Judge Douglas and I first became acquainted. We were both young then—he a trifle younger than I. Even then we were both ambitious—I perhaps quite as much as he. With me the race of ambition has been a failure—a flat failure. With him it has been one of splendid success. His name fills the nation and is not unknown even in foreign lands. I affect no contempt for the high eminence he has reached. So reached that the oppressed of my species might have shared with me in the elevation, I would rather stand on that eminence than wear the richest crown that ever pressed a monarch's brow."

It may be said, without any reflection upon any senator who served before him, that Douglas was the first great senator from Illinois. He gave Illinois a new place in the councils of the nation. Prior to Douglas,

Massachusetts, Kentucky and South Carolina, represented in the senate respectively by Webster, Clay and Calhoun, had attained a higher prestige than was enjoyed by other states. Political power was reposed in the East and in the South. Illinois was then a far western state. Douglas, by the force of his genius, compelled attention and recognition. He rapidly became the foremost statesman of his time, and he gave to Illinois a distinction and a prestige which this State never before had enjoyed, but which it has maintained to the present day. I may say here, that, although in the past fifty years, some of the great men of the nation have served as senator from Illinois, the highest rank in ability, in reputation and in achievement must be conceded to the "Little Giant." Whatever may be the judgment of history upon the political principles of Stephen A. Douglas, all must admire the "splendor of his combat," his magnificent ability and his lofty patriotism.

The first great senatorial contest which this State has witnessed occurred in 1855. The term of General James Shields (Dem.) was to expire. The Kansas-Nebraska bill had shattered the foundations of the old parties. The Legislature was composed of straight Democrats, anti-Nebraska Democrats, old line Whigs, Know-Nothings, Free Soilers and Abolitionists. On the Kansas-Nebraska question the anti-Democrats were slightly in the majority, but they were without organization. One of the members-elect of the lower House was Abraham Lincoln, who had previously served in the Legislature from 1834 to 1842. After the election, when it became apparent that the straight Democrats probably would be in the minority in the Legislature, and that the opposition would unite on Lincoln for United States Senator, he resigned as a member of the House, supposing, of course, that a Whig would be elected to succeed him. At the special election which followed the over-confidence of the anti-Nebraska men in Sangamon county permitted the election of a Democrat, Jonathan McDaniel, as Lincoln's successor. This event had a most important bearing upon the senatorial election. The Legislature was so close that if Lincoln had not resigned and if a Democrat had not been elected to succeed him, it is altogether probable that he would have been elected United States Senator. The balloting occurred on the 8th of February. The first ballot gave Lincoln 45 votes; Shields (Dem.), 41; Lyman Trumbull (anti-Nebraska Dem.), 5; Gustavus Koerner, 2; and William B. Ogden, Gov. Joel A. Matteson, William Kellogg, Cyrus Edwards, O. B. Ficklin and William A. Denning 1 each. This was Lincoln's nearest approach to election. His election was made impossible by a compact entered into by five anti-Nebraska Democrats to stand by Judge Trumbull in all emergencies. These were Senators Palmer, Cook and Judd, and Representatives Allen and Baker. It is interesting to note that all of these men subsequently became prominent Republicans and that at least three of them were most instrumental in securing the presidential nomination for Lincoln in 1860. But at that time they could not accept this old line Whig for United States Senator. When Lincoln saw that if he persisted in his candidacy, Governor Mat-

teson, a Nebraska-Democrat, was almost certain to be elected, he withdrew and threw his support to Trumbull, and thus Trumbull was elected on the 10th ballot.

The second great senatorial combat in Illinois occurred in 1858, and of this so much has been written that I shall dismiss it in a few words. Between 1854 and 1858 the Republican party had sprung into existence. Abraham Lincoln had become its recognized leader. The Republicans, remembering the divisions which had marked the senatorial contest of 1855, decided that in order to assure united action by the Republican members of the Legislature to be elected in 1858, a senatorial candidate must be selected in State convention. Mr. Lincoln was the unanimous choice of the convention. It was the first time in the history of the State that a State convention had nominated a candidate for United States Senator. Of the campaign which followed, or, more specifically, of the Lincoln-Douglas debate, I need only say, what is now generally recognized by students of American history, that in the momentous importance of the issues discussed and in its far-reaching results, the Lincoln-Douglas debate was the greatest forensic combat ever witnessed upon the American continent. Stephen A. Douglas was reëlected to the Senate; Lincoln, grown accustomed to defeat, was again beaten; but his debate with Douglas had defined the issues of the greater battle yet to come and had paved the way for the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for President in 1860.

In 1865 Richard Yates, who had achieved national fame as the war governor of Illinois, was elected United States Senator, after an acrimonious caucus contest with Elihu B. Washburne.

The six years that followed were tremendously important, for they embraced the reconstruction period of our national history, and Illinois was fortunate in being represented in the United States Senate by two of the ablest men of that time—Lyman Trumbull and Richard Yates. Trumbull's term expired in 1867. The wide-spread sentiment in favor of bestowing political honors upon the heroes of the Civil War developed formidable opposition to Trumbull. General John M. Palmer received strong support, many of the party leaders, including Governor Oglesby and General John A. Logan, favoring his election. In the caucus Trumbull was triumphant, receiving 48 votes to 28 for Palmer, and Trumbull was elected senator for the third time.

Several years ago I visited Colonel William R. Morrison at his home in Waterloo, Ill., and he devoted an entire day to reminiscences of men and events. Colonel Morrison, I may say, was a participant in three of the great senatorial combats which have been fought out in Illinois. In 1855, when Lincoln was defeated by Trumbull, Morrison was a Democratic member of the Illinois House of Representatives. In 1859, when the Lincoln-Douglas contest culminated in the reëlection of Senator Douglas, Morrison was speaker of the House. Years afterward he himself was a senatorial candidate in the memorable contest of 1865. Speaking of Lyman Trumbull and Richard Yates, Colonel Morrison gave me this interesting reminiscence:

"Trumbull and Yates were in the Senate together. Trumbull was a very studious, methodical man and was very conscientious and painstaking in the discharge of his senatorial duties. Yates was no less conscientious, but from the promptings of generosity he would do things which Trumbull would not do. There was a man from Illinois, whose name I do not recollect, who had invented and constructed a gunboat during the war. After the war he claimed that the original design had been changed by the government and that a large additional expense, something like $100,000 or $150,000, had been incurred by him in performing the contract. He had a bill before Congress for several years reïmbursing him for the money he claimed to have expended. The bill passed the House and was hung up in the Senate. There was nothing particularly wrong with the bill; the claim probably had little foundation, but there were so many others like it and so many were allowed, that it was quite respectable; yet it was not the kind of a bill that either Yates or Trumbull cared to push vigorously. Yates probably would have voted for it had Trumbull been willing to do so; but Trumbull avoided it on one pretext or another. Finally the claimant died in Washington. I happened to call on Yates when he and Trumbull were together discussing whether or not they should attend the funeral. Neither of them wanted to do so, and yet neither seemed to feel that they could properly remain away. Finally Yates said, 'I'll tell you what we'll do, Trumbull; let's go over to the Senate and pass his bill; that will be better than going to the funeral.' And that is what they did. They went over to the Senate, the bill was called up and was passed without difficulty, and the man's widow received the money."

The year 1877 found a peculiar situation in the Illinois Legislature. In the Senate there were 21 Republicans, 32 Democrats and 8 Independents, and in the House there were 79 Republicans, 67 Democrats and 7 Independents, making on joint ballot 100 Republicans, 89 Democrats and 15 Independents. Thus the Republicans, although numbering 11 more than the Democrats, still lacked 3 of having a constitutional majority of both houses. The Independents held the balance of power. General Logan, whose term as senator was to expire, was the choice of the Republican caucus. Senator John M. Palmer was nominated unanimously by the Democrats. The initial ballot was taken January 16. The assembly remained in a deadlock until January 25. Neither of the old parties was able to elect its candidate and the Independents came forward and offered Judge David Davis, then on the bench of the United States Supreme Court. Judge Davis had been an old line Whig; he had been one of the founders of the Republican party, and he was one of the able and resourceful politicians from Illinois who, at the Republican national convention in 1860, had brought about the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for President. In the old circuit riding days, he was the circuit judge before whom Lincoln, a circuit riding lawyer, tried most of his cases; and when Lincoln became President he appointed Davis a justice of the United States Supreme Court. After the war, on the question of the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson, Judge Davis became estranged from the Republican party, and so was sufficiently independent

to command the support of the fifteen Independent members of the Legislature. The Democrats, to forestall possible Republican success, decided to support Davis, and thus on the 40th ballot he was elected. In the United States Senate Judge Davis was not a partisan; he acted with the Republicans quite as frequently as with the Democrats. In 1881, when Vice President Arthur succeeded to the presidency upon the death of President Garfield, Senator Davis was made president of the Senate, and he continued to hold this place until the close of his term. David Davis must rank among the greatest men who have sat in the United States Senate from Illinois.

I come now to the prolonged and intensely dramatic senatorial contest of 1885. In 1884 the Democrats for the first time in twenty-five years had carried the country and had elected Grover Cleveland President. In Illinois the Republicans had elected the State officers by a small majority, but had failed to secure control of the Legislature. The Senate stood 26 Republicans, 24 Democrats, and 1 Greenback Democrat. The House was composed of 76 Republicans, 76 Democrats, and Elijah M. Haines, who called himself an Independent. Mr. Haines, by reason of his peculiar position in the House, thus became the largest individual factor in the Legislature. He was elected first temporary speaker and then permanent speaker of the House.

The second term of General John A. Logan as United States Senator was to expire March 4. He was renominated by the Republican caucus with little opposition. The Democratic caucus nominated Colonel William R. Morrison. Owing to the delay in the organization of the House the first ballot was not taken until February 10; and there was no ballot in joint assembly until February 18. On this ballot Logan received 101 votes, Morrison 94, Haines 4, with 3 scattering. Thus Logan lacked one vote of election. On the 19th and 20th the result was practically the same. But during the remainder of February and during the months of March and April, there was no time when both parties voted for senator on the same ballot. The view prevailing that only the majority of a quorum, and not a majority of all members elected, was necessary to an election, there was a constant fear that the absence of some member would enable the other side to elect a senator; with the result that first one side and then the other refrained from voting in order to break the quorum. There was a peculiar fatality in this assembly; three members died during the session. Representative Robert E. Logan, Republican, of the 19th district, died February 26th; Senator Frank M. Bridges, Democrat, of the 37th district, died March 20th; at special elections Representative Logan was succeeded by a Republican and Senator Bridges by a Democrat; so that the political completion of the assembly was not changed. Then on April 13th occurred the death of Representative J. Henry Shaw, Democrat, of the 34th district. This district was overwhelmingly Democrat, having given Cleveland at the last election a plurality of 2,060 votes. It was taken for granted that the successor of Shaw would be a Democrat; and it was in this situation that a few shrewd Republican politicians found the opportunity for a bit of strategy which brought victory to their candidate for senator. A special election

in the 34th district was called for May 6th. The Democrats nominated Arthur Leeper for Shaw's successor. The Republicans made no nomination, and to all outward appearances had concluded to allow the election to go by default. But over at the old Leland Hotel one night a few astute politicians in the Logan camp quietly laid a plan by which they hoped to carry the 34th district. It is said that the idea was first suggested by Henry Craske of Rushville in a letter to General Logan. However that may be, a plan was worked out by General Logan, Daniel H. Shepherd, secretary of the Republican State Committee; Jacob Wheeler, then United States Marshal, and formerly of the 34th district; Samuel H. Jones, of Springfield, and perhaps others. "Sam" Jones had been in politics a long time and he recalled how the anti-Nebraska men, through their over-confidence, had permitted a Democrat to be elected to the Legislature from Sangamon county to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Abraham Lincoln, and thus had lost the senatorship in 1855. Now, why could not that old trick be played on the Democrats? The decision was to give it a trial. Every circumstance seemed to contribute to the success of the plan. There was a truce in the senatorial contest. Speaker Haines and many members of the Legislature journeyed to New Orleans to visit the exposition May 1st. Colonel Morrison made a trip to Washington. The Democrats were completely at ease, having no doubt that their candidate for representative from the 34th district would be elected.

A few days before the senatorial election, pursuant to the plan arranged in Springfield, trusted emissaries were sent through the 34th district, some in the guise of stock buyers, others as insurance agents, others as sewing machine agents—all with plausible excuses for being in the neighborhood. They visited Republicans whom they could trust with the secret and left with them tickets bearing the name of Captain William H. Weaver, a Republican of Menard county. Instructions were given that the Republicans were to manifest the utmost indifference and were to remain away from the polls until 3 o'clock or later in the afternoon of the day of election. Then they were to go quietly to the polls and deposit the Weaver tickets.

The plan was a perfect success. When the Democrats awoke it was too late. The polls were closed—the battle was lost. When the vote was canvassed it was found that Weaver had been elected by a majority of 336 votes. It was several days, however, before the Democrats were fully convinced that they were really defeated. The surprise, chagrin, and vexation of the Democrats is indicated by an interchange of telegrams between Colonel Morrison and R. A. D. Wilbanks, clerk of the Illinois House. Colonel Morrison wired Wilbanks from Washington as follows:

"Is there no doubt of the election of a Republican successor of J. Henry Shaw? (Signed) William R. Morrison."

The answer was as follows:

"To Colonel William R. Morrison, Washington, D. C.: Not a d——d bit. (Signed) R. A. D. Wilbanks."

The election of Weaver virtually ended the senatorial contest. The rest was but a matter of form. Weaver was to be sworn in May 15th,

and on May 14th the Democrats, still hoping, made a final "supreme effort." Every Democrat was present and Morrison received 101 votes. On a later ballot the Democrats concentered on Judge Lambert Tree, but with no better success. The next ballot was taken on May 19th. It was the 120th ballot and General Logan was elected, receiving 103 votes to 96 for Lambert Tree and 5 scattering.

General Logan, in a speech before the assembly extending thanks for his election, said:

"In this contest, as it has progressed, I am proud to say that nothing has transpired to mar the friendly relations that have existed for the past thirty years between Colonel William R. Morrison, the gentleman chosen by the Democratic side of this assembly, and myself. * * * I say to you that I respect Colonel Morrison as a man. Although we differ politically, we are friends and I hope we may forever be friends."

In a conversation of several years ago, to which I have already referred, Colonel Morrison, speaking on the senatorial contest of 1885, said to me:

"In the senatorial contest of 1885, my relations with Senator Logan were personally quite friendly. * * * There was an element in his party that intended that he should be defeated, just as there were men in my party that intended that I should be beaten for senator. Some of the Republicans expected the fight to drag along until both Logan and myself would be dropped, and then a Cook county man would be elected. Logan was fully aware of the combinations that were being made to defeat him. He and I talked about them between ourselves during the contest. * * * I was not in Springfield at the time the 'still hunt' was made in the 34th district by the Republicans. I had gone to Washington to see if something could not be done to secure some Democratic appointments for Illinois. There was a great hue and cry out here that, although a Democratic President had been elected, no Democrats had been appointed to office, and I went to urge the appointment of somebody—no matter whom—but of some Democrat. I doubt that the result in the 34th district would have been any different had I remained in Springfield. The Republicans carried out their game so well that nobody was to be blamed for failing to detect it."

No senatorial contest in Illinois since 1858 attracted such wide-spread national attention as that of 1885. The Democratic victories in other states had made the United States Senate exceedingly close, and it was generally understood that the defeat of Logan would possibly mean Democratic control of the Senate. The receipt of hundreds of telegrams of congratulation by General Logan were evidence of the joy felt by Republicans throughout the nation over the reëlection of John A. Logan.

In the year 1890, for the first time since 1858, a candidate for United States Senator was nominated in State convention. This time, however, it was the Democratic party that made the nomination, following a precedent established by the Republicans. The nominee for senator was General John M. Palmer. General Palmer had left the Democratic party in 1854 on the Kansas-Nebraska question. He had been one of the founders of the Republican party in Illinois, having been chairman of the first Republican State Convention, held at Bloomington in 1856.

He had been a distinguished general in the Civil War, and in 1868 had been elected Governor of Illinois. In 1872, in company with many others, he had left the Republican party and thenceforward had been affiliated with the Democrats. Several times he had received the caucus nomination of the Democrats for United States Senator. Now, upon receiving the nomination for senator by the Democratic State Convention, he went upon the stump and presented his case to the people.

The Legislature elected that year was almost the same in its political composition as that which had caused the famous senatorial deadlock of 1885. In joint assembly there were 101 Democrats, 100 Republicans, and 3 Independents, elected as representatives of the F. M. B. A., a farmers' organization. These three independents, Moore, Cockrell, and Taubeneck, held the balance of power. The Republican caucus nominated Richard J. Oglesby, a former senator and three times Governor of Illinois. The three Independents chose A. J. Streeter as their candidate. The balloting continued with practically no change from January 20 to February 11, 1891, thus—Palmer, 101; Oglesby, 100; Streeter, 3. Then the Republicans substituted for Oglesby the name of Cicero J. Lindly, president of the F. M. B. A., the organization to which the three Independents acknowledged allegiance. Lindly was a Republican, however, and the three Independents would not support him. At the same time the Republican joint steering committee submitted to the three Independents a long list of proposed candidates, some of whom had been prominent in the labor or farmer movement. Later the Republicans switched to A. J. Streeter, the candidate of the Independents. Streeter had long been an Independent in politics; a greenbacker, a farmers' alliance man, etc. Several Republicans refused to vote for Streeter. Streeter's "high-water mark" came March 5th, when he received 98 votes—just five short of election. A couple of days later there were newspaper stories that the five Republicans who had persistently refused to vote for Streeter were weakening. The Republican State Committee had virtually indorsed Streeter and it began to look as if he might be elected.

On the night of the 10th of March Moore and Cockrell, two of the three Independents, joined in a public statement declaring their intention to vote for Palmer on the following day. Palmer, accordingly, was elected the next day, March 11, on the 154th ballot. On this ballot, the entire Republican strength of the assembly was thrown to Cicero J. Lindly, the ballot resulting: Palmer, 103; Lindly, 100; Streeter, 1—Taubeneck of the "big 3" sticking to Streeter to the end. I have known many defeated candidates for office, but I never have witnessed any disappointment as bitter and as inconsolable as that of Mr. Streeter when the election of Palmer became an accomplished fact. As a newspaper correspondent I called at his room at the Leland Hotel that afternoon. As he lay upon a sofa he vehemently denounced the "damnable treachery," as he called it, which had caused his defeat. Streeter had really believed that he was going to be elected and Palmer's election was a crushing blow.

The outcome of this contest was a most fortunate and creditable one for the State. As between Palmer and Streeter, even many Republicans preferred Palmer, for Streeter had little in common with the Republican party and his election would have been a party misfortune. Senator Palmer, on the other hand, was a distinguished and able statesman, a man of broad views and of independent action, and his term of service in the Senate reflected great credit upon himself and upon his State.

I shall not attempt to bring my story of senatorial contests "down to date." Since the deadlock of 1891, we have had five senatorial elections, each involving a contest—some of them a fierce and desperate contest. But the limited time at my disposal will not permit me to speak of them. The contest now in progress in the General Assembly has already broken all previous records in point of duration; but it is "another story" that must be reserved for some future occasion.

In this brief sketch, I have not attempted to mention by name all of the really great men who have served Illinois in the United States Senate. I have endeavored more particularly to note some of the memorable contests for the senatorship that have occurred in this State. I may add that although the governorship has ever been regarded as the natural stepping-stone to the Senate, only six of the twenty-five men who have served as senator since 1818 were also governors of the State. Of this number Ninian Edwards, one of the first two senators, became Governor after his retirement from the Senate, although he had been previously Governor of the territory. W. L. D. Ewing, elected Lieutenant-Governor, was Governor only two weeks. So that in reality only four men, first elected Governor, have afterwards become senator. The first Richard Yates, upon retiring from the office of Governor, was immediately elected to the Senate. Richard J. Oglesby and Shelby M. Cullom, each resigned the office of Governor to become senator; John M. Palmer was elected senator eighteen years after the close of his term as Governor.

It will be a matter of surprise to many, no doubt, that although nearly all have sought re-election only eight senators from Illinois have succeeded themselves. These were Ninian Edwards, Jesse B. Thomas, John McLean, Elias Kent Kane, Stephen A. Douglas, Lyman Trumbull, John A. Logan, and Shelby M. Cullom. Only four senators have been able to secure election three times—Stephen A. Douglas, Lyman Trumbull, John A. Logan, and Shelby M. Cullom. The record for length of service is held by Senator Cullom, whose first election occurred in 1883. He has served continuously since then, having been elected in all five times. He has now entered upon the 27th year of his service, and by the end of his present term will have completed thirty years of continuous service as senator from Illinois. These have been years of honorable and efficient service, and Senator Cullom, in the calm and deliberate judgment of posterity, will rank among the great constructive statesmen of the period in which he served the State and Nation.

All in all, Illinois, in a period covering almost a century, has been ably and creditably represented in Washington; and taking that period

as a whole, in the average ability, integrity and influence of its senators, it has been unsurpassed by any other state. Let us hope that the high standard set by Douglas, Trumbull, Yates, Oglesby, Palmer, Logan, Davis, Cullom and others, will be maintained by Illinois as long as this republic shall endure.

ROCK RIVER IN THE REVOLUTION.

By William A. Meese.

The winter of 1779 and '80 was the most severe in many years in the Illinois, and the spring of 1780 was indeed a gloomy one to the small American army quartered in the three French villages of Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher and Cahokia. Colonel George Rogers Clark had departed with most of his troops to a place called the Iron Mines, near the mouth of the Ohio river, where he was engaged in erecting Fort Jefferson. The commandant of the Illinois was Lieutenant Colonel John Montgomery, an Irishman born in 1748 in Bottecourt county, Virginia, who in the year 1771 was one of the celebrated "Long Hunters" in Kentucky; from there he joined Colonel Christian's regiment and took part in the Point Pleasant campaign in Dunmore's war. When Colonel George Rogers Clark was enroute to capture the Illinois settlements in 1778 at "Corn Island" he received what his biographers say was "an important accession to his little army, of twenty volunteers from Kentucky under Captain Montgomery," [1] who was described as "an Irishman full of fight who engaged in the enterprise with great ardor." Clark in the fall of 1778 was promoted to a full Colonelcy and Captain John Montgomery was made Lieutenant Colonel and given the title "Commander-in-Chief of the Virginia Troops in the County of Illinois." [2]

A letter written by Colonel Montgomery to Clark in September, 1779, shows the condition the American army was in. He says: "I can't tell what to do in Regard of clothing for the Soldiers as the Goods you wrote to me is gone—and I would Be Glad that if it is in your power to Send me a Relefe to me for the Soldiers if it is onley As Much as will make them A little Jump Jacote and a pear of overalls I think they Mite Scuffle threw." [3] The time of service of most of the troops had expired. Desertions were almost a daily occurrence and the American army was rapidly diminishing in numbers.

Early in the spring of '80 Clark, who had now been made a general, decided to concentrate his troops at Fort Jefferson.[4] The soldiers at Vincennes were recalled, and Colonel Montgomery was given orders to retire most of his troops from the Illinois villages, Governor

[1] Monette's Mississippi Valley, Vol. 11, p. 101.
[2] Butterfield, Conquest of the Illinois, p. 270.
[3] Draper Mss. 49 J. 74.
[4] Virginia State Papers, 1-358.

Patrick Henry having written General Clark that it would be necessary to withdraw as many of the troops as possible from the territory north of the Ohio; for he, "need expect no help or supplies from the State."[1] Before Montgomery could carry out his orders, news was received that an army of British and Indians was on its way to attack the Illinois settlements. Instead of retreating with his few soldiers and thus virtually obeying the orders from his commander, this "Irishman full of fight," did not desert the weak French settlements, but at once set about fortifying Cahokia, the most northern settlement where he was stationed. Montgomery also consulted the Spanish Commandant at Pencour (St. Louis) and together they sent a joint message to General Clark at Fort Jefferson, notifying him of the threatened British and Indian invasion. Clark at once set out for Cahokia and arrived the night before the British and Indians made their attack on St. Louis.

In 1779 Spain had declared was against England, and it was supposed that British officers planned this attack on the Spanish posts on the Mississippi in retaliation, but it seems that the British designs were not merely to attack the Spanish posts. A letter written by Patt Sinclair, Lieutenant Governor of Michilimacinac, to General Haldimand sometime between February 17th, 1789, and the last of May that year, shows that this movement was but part of a general plan of attack. Captain Charles de Langlade, with a chosen band of Indians and a party assembled at Chicago, was to make an attack by the Illinois river. Another party was sent to watch the plains between the Wabash and the Mississippi, and the expedition against Pencour (St. Louis) and Cahokia was under a Mr. Hesse, a British trader (formerly of the 60th regiment), who with seven hundred and fifty men, including traders, servants and Indians, the latter had assembled at La Prairie du Chien, came down the Mississippi and made "an attack on the *Spanish* and *Illinois*." Still another body of British were to attack the Spanish settlements at the mouth of, and along the lower Mississippi.[2] The Indians in Captain Hesse's party were Menominees, Sioux, Winnebagoes and Sacs and Foxes, most of the latter joining the party at the mouth of the Rock river near their village.

On May 26th, the British and Indians attacked St. Louis. They killed a number of the inhabitants, but failed to capture the place. A part of the army, mostly Indians, on the next day crossed the Mississippi and attacked the post at Cahokia, but were equally unsuccessful. The British and Indians then commenced a retreat north, one part going by way of the Mississippi, the other by way of the Illinois river.

General Clark, after this engagement, at once returned to Fort Jefferson to guard against an expected attack on that place, but before leaving, ordered Colonel Montgomery to pursue the enemy, distress them, and attack and destroy their towns. Montgomery was ordered

[1] Dr. Mss. 29 J. 14.
[2] Canadian Archives, Series B. Vol. 97. Pt. 2, p. 349.

to follow the enemy up the Illinois to lake (Peoria) and then cross the country and attack the town of the Sacs and Foxes on Rock river near its mouth.

The attack by the American army on the Rock river town of the Sacs and Foxes is the only event in the Revolutionary war that brought the American Army so far north, and the Sac village being the objective point, it is well worth the time to know what the "Ancient" village of the Sacs and Foxes was.

The Sac and Fox Rock River Village.

To the historian that part of our State now Rock Island county offers a fruitful field. Here, about 1722 or some ten years later, the allied tribes of the Sac and Fox Indians settled, and along the north bank of the Rock river, near its confluence with the Mississippi, built a village, which they continuously inhabited until driven beyond the Mississippi by United States soldiers in 1831,—a habitation of one hundred and nine years, a longer period than the occupancy of any other village of the Nomadic Redmen of North America. Much has been written concerning this village; some writers have described it as "being in the shape of a right angle," and said that the houses "were built as a general rule, facing or fronting upon the public squares, or other streets." Others have said the village was laid out in "lots and blocks," much like our modern cities; but from all that I am able to learn, the Sac wigwams or houses were built facing the river and extended from the high bluff (now called the Watch Tower) down within a mile where the Rock river empties into the Mississippi. From about the year 1800 the Rock River village was inhabited almost solely by the Sacs and such of the Foxes as were under the leadership of the War Chief Black Hawk, and were generally known as the "British Band." The Foxes maintained a village on the Mississippi river where the City of Davenport, Iowa, is now located, and opposite the lower end of the Island, known as Rock Island.[1]

That the Sacs and Foxes loved their villages and surroundings is no wonder. A noted writer who had travelled much in this country, on coming up the Mississippi river and landing at Fort Armstrong on Rock Island, some eighty years ago, wrote, "Setting down a pair of compasses large enough to extend thirty-five miles around the lower end of Rock Island and taking a sweep around it, you would have within the circle, the handsomest and most delightful spot of the same size, on the whole globe, so far as nature can produce anything called beautiful." [2]

The Sac wigwams were "very much the shape of a New England barn, sixteen or eighteen feet wide, and from twenty to fifty or sixty feet long. The largest were calculated for from two to four families. They were built by setting posts in the ground, and siding with bark from elm trees. This bark, cut about seven feet long, varied in width

[1] Morse's Report of Indian Affairs, p. 124.
[2] Tour to Prairie du Chien. Caleb Atwater, p. 64.

from two to four feet, according to the size of the tree taken from. They had rafters, and on these were laid small poles, upon the poles was placed bark, making a roof that turned rain very well. These wigwams made a very comfortable summer house. Their wigwams for fall and winter use were very different, being of flags woven into matting, which could be rolled up, and enough to cover a wigwam carried on one horse. They made a frame of small poles, one end sharpened and stuck in the ground, the other bent over so as to form a circle of ten or twelve feet, then they placed the matting around and over the poles, leaving a small opening in the top for the smoke." [1] The Sacs inhabited the Rock River village only in the summer and fall while cultivating their crops of corn, beans and squashes. This description is by an early pioneer who lived among these people some three years before they were driven across the Mississippi.

A traveler in Wisconsin in October, 1766,[2] speaks of one of the Sac towns as being composed of about ninety houses, built of hewn plank neatly joined and covered with bark, and that the streets were regular and spacious.

Refusal of the Sacs to give up their ancient home on Rock river, their corn fields, their fishing and hunting grounds, and the burial grounds of their ancestors, resulted in the Black Hawk war, and their forced removal toward the setting sun.

The Attack on the Sac Village.

In no history of the early Upper Mississippi or of Illinois is there any mention of the attack upon and the destruction of the Sac village on Rock river during the Revolution. My attention was first called to this event some years ago, while reading Pike's account of an Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi, in the year 1805. In speaking of this town of the Sac nation, Lieutenant Pike said: "which (I was informed by a Mr. James Aird) was burnt in the year 1781 or 2 by about 300 Americans, although the Indians had assembled 700 warriors to give them battle." [3]

James Aird mentioned by Pike was a British trader whose headquarters were at Prairie du Chien at which place he had located in 1778, and he with other British and French traders came semi-annually to trade with the Sac and Fox nations. An island in the Mississippi river about a mile above where the Rock river empties into the Mississippi was the trading ground. It was near both the Sac and Fox villages. Here the traders gave the Sacs and Foxes credit for goods, and as early as 1780, this island was known as Credit island, a name it kept until within a few years.

Had it not been that complaints concerning Colonel John Montgomery were made to General Clark, the former would probably never have made any mention of his march from Cahokia at the head of an American

[1] Reminiscences of Pioneer Life, J. W. Spencer, p. 12.
[2] Carver's Travels (1779), p. 42.
[3] Pike Sources of the Mississippi. Appendix to Part 1, p. 43

Army in June 1780, and his attack on the Sac village at the mouth of Rock river. But fortunately for posterity, the jealousy existing among the officials in the early Illinois, was the cause of this complaint, which forced Colonel John Montgomery to write a letter in his own defense, in which he mentions his part in the attack on the Sac village at the mouth of Rock river; and I am pleased to say that in an examination of his record, although some writers have accused him of dishonesty, I am fully convinced that this "Irishman full of fight" was not only an honest man, but one of the most loyal subjects of the then new American Government. In a letter dated February 22nd, 1783, to the Honorable the Board of Commissioners, for the Settlement of Western Accounts, Colonel Montgomery after reviewing his official conduct, says:

"In the Spring of 1780, we were threatened with an Invasion. Genl: Clark being informed of it Hurreyed his departure with a small body of Troops to the Falls of the mouth of the Ohio, when he receiving other expresses from the Spanish Comm'dts and myself, luckily joined me at Cohos, time enough to save the country from Impending ruin, as the Enimy appeared in great force within twenty-four hours after his arrival. Finding that they were likely to be disappointed in their Design, they retired after doing some mischief on the Span'h shore, which would have prevented, if unfortunately the high wind had not prevented the signals being heard. In a few days a number of prisoners and Disarters left the Enemy Confirming a report that a body of near thousand English and Indian Troops ware on their march to the Kentucky Country with a train of artillery, and the Genl: knowing the Situation of that Country appeared to be alarmed and resolved to attempt to Get there previous to their arrival. At the same time he Thought it necessary that they Enimy was retreating up the Illinois River, should be pursued so as to atact their Towns about the time the might have been disbanded, distress them, convince them that we would retaliate and perhaps prevent their joining the British Emisarys again. Previous to my knowledge of the above Resolution I had informed Genl: Clark of my Desire of Leave of absence for sometime, in order to return to my family. It was then he informed me of his resolution; and that the Publick Interest would not permit of my request being Granted, that I must take command of the Expedition to Rock River, while he would attempt to interrupt the army marching to Kentucky, and if they got them before him Except the weakened the country too much he would raise an army and atempt to play them the same Game in the Miami Country, as he hoped I would go towards Miskelemacknor, and if we should be Tolerable suksessful and the business properly arranged, I might absent myself for four or five months in the fall or winter. After Given me Instructions he left Kohos the forth of June with a small Escort for the mouth of the Ohio on his rout to Kentuckey. I immediately proceeded to the Business I was order'd and march'd three hundred and fifty men to the Lake open on the Illinois River, and from thence to the Rock River, Destroying the Towns and crops proposed, the Enimy not Daring to fight me as the had so lately Been disbanded and they could not raise a sufficient force.

After returning, takeing every method in my power to regulate business, I was resolved to return home, but after Deliberating sometime, was convinced that the Risque by land was Great without a Guard, which our circumstances would not admit off, and that I could posably as soon or sooner return by Water than land. What might also induce me in a great measure to Take my rout by Orleans, was the probability of Recovering some deserters from the Spanish Governor, and put a stop to that pernicious practice, which I in a great measure effected as that Gentlemen appeared willing to comply with any proposition in his power to promote our interest." [1]

Colonel Montgomery gives no detailed account of the march from Cahokia or of the Rock river engagement. He merely refers to it as showing how his time was employed while in the Illinois, and it possibly was but a minor matter to this "fighting Irishman." Aird, who undoubtedly received his information by being at Credit island near by, or else from the Indians soon thereafter, says the Sacs had some 700 warriors to defend their town. It is possible they made but a feeble resistance. If so it is the only instance that history records of the Sacs running from an enemy. Black Hawk in his autobiography does not mention this event, but that is natural, an Indian tells only of his victories.

In this expedition the Spaniards from St. Louis sent two companies each of fifty men and the French of the Illinois also furnished two. The latter it seems expected to capture rich booty from the Indians and it seems were grievously disappointed. In a lengthy letter to one M. Mottin de la Balme, pensioner of the King of France, French Colonel etc., who was then in the Illinois, the Cahokians made a complaint they say:

"Oh, Colonel Clark, affecting always to desire our public welfare and under pretext of avenging us, soon formed with us and conjointly with the Spaniards a party of more than three hundred men to go and attack in their own village the savages who had come to our homes to harass us, and after substituting Colonel Montgomery to command in his place, he soon left us.

"It is, then, well to explain to you, sir, that the Virginians, who never employed any principle of economy, have been the cause by their lack of management and bad conduct, of the non-success of the expedition and that our glorious projects have failed through their fault: for the savages abandoned their nearest villages, where we have been, and we were forced to stop and not push on further, since we had almost no more provisions, powder and balls, which the Virginians had undertaken to furnish us." [2]

I have found only one other mention of this northern Invasion, and that is an account made to Dr. Lyman Draper by Captain John Rogers, who was one of Clark's captains and commanded a Company in the Rock river expedition who said:

[1] Calendar Virginia State Papers. Vol. 111, p. 441.
[2] Dr. Mss. 51 J. 75.

"April, 1780, proceeded to Falls of Ohio, from Fort Pitt, 670 miles; find orders to continue on to the Iron Banks of Mississippi, 530 miles. Here I explore the country on both sides of the Ohio, by orders of Gen. Clark to find an eligible place to build a fort thereon. The General now received an express informing him of an intended invasion of the Village of Kahokias. I am ordered with my company for its protection, where I arrive 200 miles; soon after besieged by a large force; on their raising the siege, join our forces to those of the Spaniards of St. Louis, who had suffered much by said army; and follow the enemy to their towns upon the river de la Rouze (Rocke?) distant 400 miles out and 400 in. We burn the towns of Saux and Reynards." [1]

It is more likely the Sacs made little or no resistance, yet it was at a time of the year when the fighting men were at home. It was the time when this nation always engaged in cultivating their fields of corn, beans and squashes, comprising some eight hundred acres.

The Sacs thus were the only ones punished for the attack on St. Louis and Cahokia. Yet their conduct in this expedition was severely condemned by the British. Lieutenant Governor Sinclair in making his report on the failure of the St. Louis-Cahokia expedition, said, "The two first mentioned Indian Nations (Winnebagoes and Sioux) would have stormed the Spanish lines, if the Sacs and Outagamies (Foxes) under their treacherous leader Monsr Calve, had not fallen back so early, as to give them but too well grounded suspicion that they were between two fires." [2]

No mention is made how Montgomery's army returned but it is safe to presume they went as they came, by land. If the Indians deserted their village they undoubtedly departed in their canoes down to the Mississippi, and thence across that stream.

Perhaps somewhere there is more in detail an account of this northern invasion, which, when found, will undoubtedly prove interesting.

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[1] Dr. Mss. 28 J. 3.
[2] Canadian Archives, Series B., Vol. 97, Pt. 2, p. 389.

AUGUSTIN MOTTIN DE LA BALM.

By Clarence M. Burton.

The name of LaBalm should be a household word as familiar as that of George Rogers Clark, Francois Vigo, or Pierre Gibault in the homes of Michigan, Illinois and Indiana. That LaBalm lost his life in an effort to secure freedom to the territory of the West, should add a crown of glory to his name not possessed by the others with whose achievements we are more familiar.

His name indicates his French descent though the annals of his time do not inform us where or when he was born. He is first mentioned as a citizen of France, and that was probably his native country. We are not informed as to his participation in the war between France and England, that ended in the absorption of Canada by the latter country in 1763, but if he was of sufficient age to have been in the army at that time, there is little doubt of his engagement in it. His name first occurs on his commission as quartermaster in the Gendarmerie, which is dated at Versailles, February 23, 1766.[1]

As he had chosen the life of a soldier, the succeeding years were passed in the army in France, but when the war of American Independence broke out, he sought to participate in it in behalf of the Americans as against the hereditary enemy of his country. He applied to his own government for permission to go to America, but Count de Vergennes refused his consent. He based his refusal upon the impropriety of France letting its soldiers go to America to engage in war against a nation with which, at that time, it was at peace. The refusal was so worded that LeBalm considered it an encouragement to go, if he would not involve France by so doing. Seeking Silas Deane, who was at that time the agent in Paris for the United Colonies of America, he placed before him evidences of his ability in military affairs, and obtained a letter of recommendation, dated October 17, 1776, and addressed to John Hancock, as one who would be of service to the Americans in training cavalry. He prepared also a general plan or proposal for work he would undertake in America in the line of instruction in cavalry exercises.[2]

He also obtained from Benjamin Franklin, who had lately arrived in Paris, a recommendation and introduction, dated January 20, 1777.

With these recommendations, LaBalm set out for America and at once made application for a position in the cavalry. Washington, in his

[1] British Museum Mss. 21844.

[2] See Appendix 1. Many of these papers are too long to be attached as notes and as they have never been printed, it was concluded to put them in an appendix.

letter that accompanied LaBalm's recommendation says: "I am afraid we shall never be able to find places equal to the expectations of the French gentlemen who are now here, much less for those that will follow. The high rank conferred upon those who first came over, many of whom had no pretensions, either from services or merit, has naturally raised the expectations of those who come properly recommended, to such a pitch that I know not what will satisfy them." [1]

The feelings of this country were very friendly to the French nation in general, and particularly affectionate towards the French soldiers who were coming so willingly and freely to assist us in our contest for liberty. There was a somewhat different feeling among the officers of the army. The French officers were frequently given positions over the heads of our own soldiers. This bred a discontent, that soon appeared on the surface, and the Americans resented the seeming partiality for the foreigners.

James Lovel, Secretary of Congress, expressed these ideas of the disappointed or discontented Americans in a letter to Franklin of July 4, 1777. "It is not to be doubted," he wrote, "but that a multitude of foreign officers, by no means deficient of merit, are willing to come over and supersede such of ours as have been constantly in the field, and have borne innumerable hardships when our poverty in arms and ammunition would have terrified the stoutest Europeans who have been accustomed to systematic campaigns."

Whether LaBalm was an exception to the general rule and was seeking an office where there was much labor and little compensation, or because the position he wanted was one that had not been and could not be properly filled by any person then in the army, is uncertain, but it appears that this general dislike of foreign officers did not extend to him, for Lovel stated that "Mr. De laBalm may be Inspector-General of Cavalry without umbrage given to any of that corps." [2]

He had already been appointed Lieutenant Colonel of Horse on the 26th of May, 1777, and was promoted to Colonel and Inspector-General of Cavalry on the eighth of the following July.[3]

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[1] This letter is not printed in full in Ford's Washington, Vol. V., 364.

[2] Franklin in France, 1-80; Franklin's Works. (Sparks-Stevens) VIII, 195; Wharton's Dip. Cor. II, 251; Bigelow's Franklin, 55; Smyth's Franklin, Vol. VII, 12 and note. The recommendation of Deane was found on the person of LaBalm when he was killed. A copy is in the Library of Congress. (C. C. 152, 4, 169). It was sent by Washington to Congress.

In Smyth's Franklin (note on p. 12, Vol. VII) is an extract from a letter of Vergennes in which he says that he is glad permission has not been granted LaBalm to go to America. He bases this refusal upon the impropriety of the government of France letting its citizens go to America to take part in that war against a nation which was at peace with France. The very terms of this letter indicated that Vergennes was willing that LaBalm should go if he would not involve France.

[3] Heitman's Officers in the Continental Army, 73; LaBalm's original commission as inspector-general, now in the British Museum, is dated July 8, 1777. His pay as Lieutenant Colonel was to commence Jan. 20, 1777. Journals of Congress VIII, pp. 385, 539; Mag. of American History, III, 366.

He continued to exercise the office of Inspector-General until the following October, when he resigned his position, much to the regret of Congress.[1]

He made plans now to return to Paris and receive a grant from Congress of one hundred dollars to pay his traveling expenses to Boston or Charleston and a further sum of nine hundred livres for traveling expenses to Paris.[2] These sums were granted to him in response to his repeated petitions to Congress for that purpose.

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[1]He resigned Oct. 11, 1777. Journals of Congress IX, 797; Canadian Archives B., 182-84, p. 186; Papers of Continental Congress, 91, 81.

Papers of the Continental Congress.

41. Vol. 1, folio 144. Translation.

GENTLEMEN—The Love of Liberty, join'd to the hope what I entertained of raising, forming, disciplining and leading to Action a Corps of Cavalry have been the only motives which have induced me to this Continent, where I imagined (after the Promises of Mr. Deane) I should have been received in a manner somewhat gracious. Three Months having elapsed before I was invested with my present Employment (and which I accepted in order that I might not appear deficient in point of Respect to those who seemed to take an Interest in my behalf, convinced me too sensibly of how small a consideration my Zeal for the Cause of America, and the particular Knowledge I had acquir'd in the Art of Cavalry were consider'd in this Country. The Persons who were interested in knowing me, have not thought it an Object worthy their Considerati (on), much less to employ me, another evident Proof of a Studied Indifference with Respect to what concern'd me, or my Profession

In the Department I at present hold, there still remain'd the Hope of rendering your Cavalry fit for Action, and to ask of you, in case I should be happy enough to merit your Approbation, a Rank which would have given me the Right to lead it to Action. You would then have seen Gentlemen that I did not come over to America merely to procure Rank; you would have known what Art united with Courage could have affected: But this Hope, my only Recourse in this Matter, you have entirely annihilated by giving the Command of your Cavalry to the Baron de Polasky. After this Step, Gentlemen, you will easily judge, Gentlemen, that I cannot think of exerting myself to form a Corps which is to be under command of another Person; a Person who has perhaps much less Experience, less true Zeal, not more Courage, and without Doubt infinitely less vers'd in this Branch than myself+In consequence of these Reflections, I entreat you Gentlemen to order me Payment of what is due me, to accept of my Resignation, and of my Wishes for the Prosperity of your Arms—I am with Respectful Consideration,

Gentl'n Your Obed't Hble. Serv't,

Le Col. La Balme Inspe'r Cava.

3d, Oct., 1777.

(Endorsed) Memorial of Mons. La Balme to Congress—Resignation accepted and arrearages ordered to be paid.

Oct. 3, 1777—No. 2.

Memorial of Lt. Col. La Balme Insp'r of Cavalry—Resignation accepted. Arrearage ordered to be paid.

[2]Journals of Congress IX, 878.

Papers of the Continental Congress.

41. Vol. 1, folio 150.

SIR—You are so good a Patriot, and also so Kind, that it would be very difficult for one to resist the great ascent which those precious qualities give you over sensible minds.

Ever since my intellectual faculties, have been improved to the Knowledge of what's good from what's ill I always pai'd a due honnour to those virtues, and I dare assure, that it would be difficult to find a man in the World of more Republican principles, or more fond of independence, and consequently more eager than I'am in defending the cause of every true American. Therefore I have only a thing to desire, I mean the means of being usefull, and the security that my designs won't be thwarted if they are well projected.

I brought over with me to America, nor fastuous titles, neither wealths, but I brought morals, with some learning in the Art of War, and the desire of making my-self eminent in the rank which I would be trusted with. If some other quality is necessary to repell the Ennemy, I must confess I'm ignorant of it. Such are my dispositions, but now I'm to speak of my pecuniary means.

By the considerable time I have been in this Country without any Commission, by my travels, and by the great expences in which a stranger is engaged, specially when he has somebody living at his expences (I brought over two Officers with me) I have been compelled to sell the remains of my bagages part of which had been stolen from me, by the Waggoner Samuel Park. I say I have been obliged to sell them for living. Now I don't fear to own, that some books, a small sum of money, an horse, a cloak and a Sword, make all what is my property in the Continent of America. You perceive Sir, by that account, which is exactly true, that my expences being greater than my means it was prudent for me to look for shifts somewhere else.

Since you will Keep me here, and give me an occasion for making use of my zeal for the service of the United States, I desire that you would grant me, that the full pay of my rank be continued to me, without any interruption.

Then I'll make the best endeavours for answering your Patriotical designs, and for convincing you of the respectuous consideration with which I'm,

Sir, Your most obedient and humble servant,

Col. La Balme.

Yorktown, December 25th 1777.

To the Right Honnourable Collon' Lawrens, President of the Honnour. Congress, Yorktown.

6 Dec. 25, 1777, N. 3. A memorial from mons. de la Balme, read 27, Dec., 1777. Consideration postponed.

On the eleventh of January, 1778, he wrote to Congress, calling attention to his previous letter regarding the conquest of Canada and asking that he be not condemned unheard. He said that the English, seeing the Americans attempt nothing on Canada and leaving only feeble garrison to guard it, are giving all of their forces to General Howe, thus permitting him to act vigorously in other parts of the continent. "Deprived in part," he continues, "of the advantages of commerce; irritated by the vague promises of an obstinate King and Parliament overcharged with taxes, and burdened with a war which they are forced to carry on against countries too distant for a people whose credit is already exhausted, the English nation will soon by their joint clamor extort orders to their generals to use artifice, force, and violence, which commonly degenerates into cruelty." [1]

A few days later (Jan. 22d) he again wrote to Congress, offering his personal services. He said he had made the same offer on a previous occasion, but had heard nothing from it. "However it be," he wrote, "if you think I'm able to undertake something useful to the United States, give me the means of showing my zeal in this occasion and of employing my leisure frutuously. It is what I wish the most." [2]

These frequent applications to Congress assumed the aspect of importunities and displeased the members of that body. In reply to a communication in February, 1778, the following resolution was passed: "Resolved, That 910 dollars be paid Mons. de la Balme, in full of all claims and demands against the United States and that the Committee on Foreign applications inform Mons. de la Balme that Congress have no further occasion for his services." [3]

At this time he was in Philadelphia, but being without an occupation, he obtained leave from General Gates to go to Albany. He did not remain long in that place, but returned to Philadelphia and planned the opening of a workshop twenty-eight miles from that place. He issued

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[1] See Appendix 2.

[2] See Appendix 3.

[3] (Journals of Congress, X, 157.) (Chicago Hist. Soc., Vol. V, p. 33.)

Papers of the Continential Congress. 41. Vol. 1, folio 168. Jany. 1, 1779. N. 4. Memorial from Col. De la Balme, read 4, Jany., 1779. Referred to the board of treasury. Passed at Treasury, 7th Jany.

To the Honourable the Continental Congress:

The Memorial of Colonel de la Balme most respectfully sheweth That when in the Year One Thousand Sevenhundred and Seventy Seven Your Honorable House was pleased to grant Your Memorialist his Discharge form the Service and at the same time to allow his Account of 120 Louis d'or, he received on Your Order, at the Treasury the Sum of 576 Continental Dollars, that is 4 4-5 dollars pr. Louis d'or: which, considering the Depreciation of that Money he then took as on account of his demand And nowwith due Submission to Your Honours he conceiveth "that by his replacing into Your Treasury the said Sum of 576 Dollars in the same Specie as he received it, he would by virtue of some Stipulations before his Departure from France made with your Commissioner Mr. Deane be intitled to receive a Bill of Exchange for 2880 Livres Turnois payable in France equal to his Demand of 120 Louis d'or at 24 Livres pr. Louis d'or"—It would have been extremely flattering if in consequence of the Motives which brought Your Memorialist over to this Continent, he had been put in a way to compensate America by some or other Act of eclat in her favor for any Expences She should be put to on his Score as it was with great Reluctance that he presented his moderate Account of 120 Louis d'or, whereof he would rather have made a Sacrifice to her Cause if Fortune had placed him in a degree of Affluence to afford such like Sacrifices—As Your Memorialist and his case may be unknown to some of the Members of Your Honorable House He begs leave to mention that last Spring when he returned from Albany where he had served as Volunteer, He offered to His Excellency General Washington to exercise 300 Horse and to teach the Men their Manoeuvres in Battle without requiring any Rank or pay for his Service.

Col. De La Balme.

Philad. Jan. 1st 1779.

notices in the English, French and German languages, requesting all persons who had deserted from the army or navy of any other nation than the United States or French, to find shelter and employment at his workshops.

The intention was to give temporary relief and to induce these deserters to join the army.[1]

In March, 1780, he applied to Washington for permission to visit the southern states.[2] This expedition was either very brief or was not undertaken at all, for in June he was at Fort Pitt.[3] From this writings, from this place, we find his first plans to collect an army and attack and capture Detroit.[4]

An effort has been made to show that in this project LaBalm was working to regain the western country for France and that he was not working in the interest of the United States.[5] It is certain, however, that his movements were known to the Americans and were carried on with their approval, though not with their official consent. The invasion of the western country was the dream of Colonel Brodhead, who was in command at Fort Pitt. His frequent applications to invade the Indian country and capture Detroit had been constantly met with refusals because he could not be allowed a sufficient support to warrant the undertaking.

A Detroit Frenchman, M. Godfroy, or Linctot as he is usually referred to, was fitting out an expedition, at Fort Pitt, and Brodhead sent notice of it to the President of Congress, and with it sent his expressions of regret that he was not as favorably situated as Linctot. "Now, had I but men and provision, I might do something to gain a laurel, but in my present circumstances, it is probable I may lose my reputation for what shall not be a fault in me."[6]

Linctot was a French Canadian, who had been all over the western country. He was attached to the American cause and was disliked and

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[1] See Appendix 4.

[2] See p. 147.

Letters to Washington, Vol. 36, folio 87.

Mons. De Balme, 5, March, 1780. Ansd. 14.

SIR—Though I have not been happy enough as to give your Excellency proofs of my zeal for the American cause, you So honourably defend, I no less dare flatter meself that His Excellency has not been insensible to it, and will be So good as to grant me the following asking.

I intend to travel within a little towards the Southern States of America, where I may be confounded with many adventurers, because Mr. Lovel one of the honorable the Congress has lost the recommending letters, I intrusted with, when I moved for an employment in Phyladelphia.

Some of those letters were exhibited to your Excellency at the time of my arrival in this Continent I Hope thus, (that?) in consequence of the good Character they gave me, you will be pleased to give me one of yours to idemify me of their being lost.

I entertain a too high Idea of the equitable proceedings of your Excellency towards the foreigners not to expect with a Secure Confidence Such a favor of yours.

I am with the greatest respects of his Excellency,

The most obedient and humble servant,
De la Balme.

Philadelphia the V, Mch., 1780.

[3] Ill. Hist. Col., Vol. II, p. LXXXIX. Also Vol. 5, p. 161.

[4] La Balm was fairly well versed in the English language, and many of the letters from him are in English.

[5] F. J. Turner in Am. Hist. Rev. X, 255.

[6] Penn. Arch. 1st, Series VIII, 559, Sept. 17, 1780. It would appear that Lincot was paid by Virginia or by the general government. See a letter from Thomas Jefferson to Col. Todd, March 19, 1780. "The draughts from yourself and Col. Clarke on Pollock, those presented us by LaGrass and Linctot, others for about 50,000 dollars presented by a Mr. Nathan * * * have rendered us bankrupt here." Early Chicago and Illinois, 358.

feared by the British. His acquaintance among the Indians and his power over them was great. His plan for invading the country in conjunction with the friendly Indians and with a body of French Canadians was acceptable to the Americans, though they were powerless to assist him. In the early part of 1780, both LaBalm and Linctot were in Fort Pitt making arrangements for a concerted attack on Detroit. Linctot, with about thirty Indian followers, left Fort Pitt on the seventh of May to visit the Indian nations and ask them to join the French in an attack on the British.[1]

LaBalm contemplated going down the Ohio river and meeting Linctot at the French settlements in Illinois. Linctot was to proceed across the country, visiting the Indian tribes on the way. That this undertaking was in the interest of the Americans is evidenced by LaBalm's report to the Minister of France, for he says that Linctot's visit to the different nations is, "so as to secure them for the United States, to which the French unanimously adhere."

A letter of Colonel Daniel Brodhead to President Reed, not dated, but probably in June, 1789, says: "It is near four weeks ago, since I sent a French gentlemen with speeches to the Indians, threatening them with the force of France, Spain and America, if they did not immediately desist from further hostilities. This gentleman is in the service of the state of Virginia. He speaks several of the Indian languages to perfection and his address is well calculated to influence them. When he returns, I will write you what success attends the messages. Some of the Indian nations certainly merit a total extirpation, but whilst we want the means to chastise them, it may be good policy to amuse them, as they have us, and I have directed the French gentleman (Major Lanctot) to do it as much as in him lies." [2]

LaBalm's report of his transactions up to the time of his departure for the West explains his attachment to the American cause and gives some indications of his future undertakings. It was sent to the Minister, Lucerne, and is as follows: "Monsieur: Before proceeding further on my course, I believe I ought to report to your Excellency without waiting for a more favorable opportunity. My arrival at Fort Pitt, perhaps rendered me useful to United States, especially as

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[1] Can. Arch. B. 181, p. 275. This day probably should be July 7, as on that day Brodhead directed Linctot to go to Cooshocking and induce the Indians to adhere to the American cause and inform them that unless they made peace with the United States their country would be invaded. Penn. Arch. XII, 246.

There are other letters from Brodhead which indicate that Linctot was working in the interest of the United States. Ib, 258, 259. Rocheblave, the former French Governor at Kaskaskia, in his letter of Sept. 9, 1780, (Can. Arch. B. 122, p. 545) says that Linctot is a Canadian whose head has been turned by a letter from d'Estaing or promises from Congress.

It is possible that Linctot was sent first on May 7th and that he returned and was sent a second time on July 7th. This would agree with the letters of LaBalm and Brodhead, (Penn. Arch. VIII, 300).

[2] Penn. Arch. Vol. VIII, p. 300. Major Lanctot left Fort Pitt shortly after May 4, 1780, to carry a message to the Indian Council at Coochocking. He carried a message to Rev. John Heckenvelder, the Moravian teacher. Penn. Arch. XII, 228. He Also carried a letter to the Rev. David Ziesberger, another Moravian teacher. This letter is dated, May 8, 1780, indicating that Lanctot did not leave Pittsburg before that date. Penn. Arch. XII, 231. Lanctot was at the Delaware towns in August, sending messages to the Indians to prevent them from working in unison with the English. Penn. Arch. XII, 258, 263. Letters of Brodhead, dated Aug. 21, 1780. Broadhead wrote to Lanctot, who was then, (Aug, 23, 1780) at the Delaware Council, to return to Fort Pitt as soon as possible. Penn. Arch. XII, 259. Lanctot was still in Coochocking in September and wrote to Brodhead that the Indians from Detroit were preparing to attack the frontiers. Penn. Arch. XII, 269, 270, 271.

they were threatended with a general Indian war. A French officer, born in Canada, Monsieur Godefroi de Linctot, a wanderer (for several years) among the savages because he refused to serve under the British flag, followed by about thirty trusty Indians, left that place the 7th of last May, to visit the Nations, in order to ward off the Loups, who threatened the frontiers of the United States. The strings of wampum which he gave, and the words of peace were welcomed by the Loups, the Shawanes, the Hurons, etc. Several of the Indians returned with Monsieur de Lintot to give pledges for the others. On that occasion I passed for a French officer who had come to learn the true inclinations of the children of the French King, their benefactor. After holding council, the Indians delegated came to assure me of their lasting affection and complete obedience to the will of their Father, and to tell me that they were ready to follow the French warriors, to raise the tomahawk and strike to the death the enemies of their generous protector, "but," they added, "if our Father is allied with the Americans, why do they let us want for everything? Must we die with our women and our children because we reject the offers which the English make us? We do not love them. We are ready to strike, but our urgent needs will force us in the end to give an ear to their proposals, if they persist in refusing us that aid here, without which we cannot exist. The deer, which ought to provide us with food and procure for us, in exchange for their skins, the clothing to which we have become accustomed, are much wilder than they were before we made use of fire-arms. We need, then, powder, guns, clothes, while they give us only burning liquors, which kill our young men. They made us a thousand promises at Philadelphia last year. In reality, they do not remember more than a part. We are forgotten, abandoned, besought by another race and sometimes threatened by the English. Under such circumstances, what can we do? What should we do?" "You should remain peaceful and quiet," I said to them, "unless you wish to fall under the displeasure of your Father, to expose yourselves to his vengeance and to that of the Spanish and of the United States, his allies, and to see yourselves abandoned by the English, who are threatened on all sides, even in their own country." I added such arguments as seemed to me most suited to convince them. Then they withdrew to their camp, telling me that they were ready to march against the enemies of their Father and his allies when it would be required of them. We have several times served liquor to these gentlemen, who, well painted and plumed, have drunk immoderately of the most powerful liquors. I hope that their promise will be well kept, but I confess that I have not a great deal of confidence in it, because he digs a pit for his feet who makes promises in regard to the conduct of those frontiers folk, for, with the exception of the commandant of Fort Pit, they have all behaved abominably toward the Indians. While the treaty was being negotiated at the Fort, a party of eight men visited the Nations and murdered some of the Indians. Some others stole four horses near their camps. From all these tricks and this

treachery, there must result a great depth of hatred which necessarily generates the warfare of which several families are the victims. This then is the result of the disorders and inconsistencies which in many instances appear to characterize the English colonists. We set out, myself the fourth, a Frenchman, to navigate the Ohio, well armed, and to proceed to the Illinois, accompanied by a somewhat elderly Shawnee princess. As for Monsieur Godefroi de Lintot, he set out for the same place by land. He will visit the Nations, whose different languages he speaks very well, with the view to strengthening their attachment to the cause of the United States in which the French unanimously take a vital interest. That officer is indeed worthy of the greatest praise. His zeal in that respect has led him to give to the Indians, his horses, his personal effects, and often his clothing to strengthen their attachment to the French. One would think in considering his generosity that France would heap favors upon him. Instead, she ignores the nobility of these acts. This is the testimony that I do not begrudge him together with all those who know him, and which I hope sincerely will be of benefit to him. I hope that the French scattered over the two hemispheres will draw from this a knowledge of the good feeling which exists between them and the Indians, so that being strongly united they will be able, far from receiving, to make the law for any one authority, because I learn that all who are independent or even on the verge of becoming so, are ready for a paternal hand to be extended, an omen of their future happiness. Time will lift the veil which hides the future from the curious and attentive observers of catastrophies and revolutions.

"In whatever place I set my foot, it will give me a true pleasure to inform your Excellency of whatever I deem worthy of his attention and I assure him of the respectful consideration with which I am ever,

"Your Excellency's very humble and obedient servant,

"Colonel La Balm."[1]

Thomas Bentley was the first person to give information to DePeyster, who was in command at Detroit, of the advent of LaBalm at Vincennes. Bentley was a trader who had been in the Illinois country and had passed through the various villages and settlements there and in Michigan, even as far north as Mackinac. For some time he had been suspected of being too friendly to the Americans, and the suspicion had become so strong that he was taken into custody by orders of Lieut.-Governor Sinclair, of Michillmacinac, and was confined in Detroit for several months. His property and papers were taken from him. There was no trial, for there was no provision, in law, for such a proceeding. His offence was of a military character only and his case was one of many that occurred in Detroit at this time. There was a disposition on the part of DePeyster to let him go free, at one time, but on further consideration he was still kept confined and was sent to Quebec as a dangerous person. He managed to escape and enter the American lines.

[1]This article was prepared before Vol. 5, of the Ill. His. Collections was issued from the press and some of the papers in this article are printed in that volume.

Making his way westward, the first information we have from him is a letter from Vincennes, dated August 17, 1780.[1] He had forgiven the injuries inflicted upon him by DePeyster and now begs that he will permit the Macombs, who were extensive traders at Detroit, to send him some bales of goods that he might sell to retrieve his lost fortune and to repay his creditors. In this letter he says: "Since my return to this place, I have been informed that belts have been sent off from this to the Shawnese and other nations, by a French colonel, who came here about a month ago, which belts, from what I can understand, import that the savages should remain quiet and not go to war any longer, as the French are coming again among them, who are to drive both the Americans and the English out of the country and are to possess themselves of Canada and its dependencies and I am well informed that other French emissaries have been sent to different nations, probaly for the same purpose. Thinking that this might be interesting for you to know, I have thought it necessary to give you this intelligence." So little credence was given to this information that DePeyster made no note of it in his official reports and undertook no investigation to ascertain whether it was true or false.

On reaching Vincennes in July, LaBalm ascertained that the acts of the Virginia troops had created in the French citizens a feeling of antipathy against the United States which was similar to the feelings already entertained by the Indians. The Virginians had been insolent and overbearing and there was a feeling that the British rule was milder

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Post Vincennes, 17, Augt., 1780.

[1] Sir—Since my return to this place I have been informed that Belts have been sent off from this to the Shawnese and other Nations by the French Colonel who came here about a month ago which Belts from what I can understand import that the Savages should remain quiet and not go to war any longer as the French are coming again amongst them, who are to drive both the Americains and English out of the country and are to possess themselves of Canada & its dependencies and I am well inform'd that other French emmissaries have been sent to different nations probably for the Same purpose thinking that this might be interesting for you to know have thought it necessary to give you this intelligence The great injustice done me by Rocheblave and others and the losses to which that has subjected me induce me to hope that you would be kind enough to Permit Messrs. Macombes to send me a few Bales of goods this Fall as it would be the means of enabling me to recover myself in some manner from the heavy looses I sustain'd during my detention in Canada. You may rest assured that the goods will not be made a bad use of being intended for the Savages and inhabitants only and I can moreover inform you that the Savages and inhabitants are so discontented with the Americains both here and at Illinois that regular troops would be received with open arms particularly if runner were sent before to assure the inhabitants that no evil would befall them. I cou'd wish to communicate anything essential for you to know from this but I shall be fearful to write. If Messrs. Macombes send me any goods you can easily convey a letter in a piece of goods marking the piece in the invoice with a X signifying therein in what manner I can be of use and you may depend upon everything in my power. By the batteaus just arrived from New Orleans we are inform'd the Spaniards have taken Mobile (a place of no consequence) But they have not yet attacked Pensacila: Don Galvez, the general had some disagreement with the admiral of the Squadron which cause the latter to quit the expedition and return to Havannah. I sincerely hope they will not succeed against Pensacola. If an expedition of 3,000 men could be sent by way of Presqu'isle they would take fort Pitt and the Ohio communications leaving garrison therein and easily possess themselves of New Orleans. Give me leave most earnestly to request that you will be pleased to suffer me some goods to be sent me this Fall; it will relieve the distresses of my mind which are beyond all measure great and enable me to quite the country next year. I feel most Sensibly for a widow sister and six small children who look'd up to me for support bereft of which by my misfortunes for these three years past I am convinced are in want of the Very necessaries of life; These call for my utmost exertions to put myself in a Situation to send them some relief, which depends on you alone to enable me to do. You need not be under the least apprehension whatever that such goods will fall into the hands of the Americans who I can inform you are preparing to evacuate this post in a few days and will I doubt not evacuate the Illinois altogether in the course of twelve months more. They have 100 say one hundred men at the Illinois (what they call troops) without the least discipline badly cloth'd, badly fed and worse paid. You may judge therefore how small and feeble would be their exertions against the regular troops Falstaff's men all+I beg leave to refer you to two letters I have already wrote you and remain with the utmost respect Sir,

Your most obed't & very hble. Serv't,
T. Bentley.

From Mr. Bentley, Post Vincennes, 17, Aug., 1780. Can. Arch., Series B., Vol. 185, p. 62.

and more preferable. McCarty, in his report, says that the people of Cahokia sent by LaBalm to Congress an account of their grievances and of the "enormities committed in this country by our troops." "I must confess many things have been done which should not." [1]

LaBalm believed that the Canadians in the Illinois would join him in the expedition against Detroit and that the Canadians at Detroit would rise to a man when it was ascertained that he was on the road to that place. He now first learned that the undertaking must be made by the French and Indians and that he could get little assistance from the Americans because of the feeling of the former against the Virginians.

A message from Brodhead, accompanied by another from a Frenchman at Fort Pitt, advising the Indians to join the Americans, was sent to the Delawares. This Frenchman appears, from the text, to have been Linctot. The Indians concluded that the Virginians, French and Spaniards were now arrayed against the English.[2]

From Vincennes LaBalm went to St. Louis and presented an address (dated Sept. 17, 1780) to the French; thence to Cahokia where, on September 21, an address was presented to him by the French inhabitants setting forth their grievances against the Virginians. They detailed many of the causes of their complaints against the Virginian officers and troops and referred to the King of France who, they said, would not permit his subjects to be so treated if he knew of their condition. "It is then, sir," they conclude, "with all the affection and zeal which we promise you, that we ask you to be willing to interest yourself in our grievances and speak in our favor. May the heavens bring it about that by your intervention we may be able to attain that to which we aspire, which is nothing less than the happiness of seeing ourselves again all French. We have nothing to offer you in hostage except the greatest fidelity of heart which we shall never cease having." [3]

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[1] Ill. Hist. Col., Vol. II, p. 621.

[2] Mich. Pion. Hist. Soc. X, 427. The charges made by Bently against LaBalm, in Ill. Hist. Col., Vol. II, p. 618, should be taken *cum grano salis*. Bently had been a prisoner at Detroit and had escaped and returned to Vincennes. He was still much inclined to the British side as his correspondence indicates. Pierre Prevost was with LaBalm, Ill. Hist. Col., Vol. II, p. 477.

Extract from a letter from Linctot to Pres. Reed, dated Sept. 13, 1780. "I hope that my wishes may be accomplished, that at present you may have sufficient provisions to carry on an expedition which will be the only method to stop the Nations. If they have not faith I lose entirely their confidence. I have already lost a party. (Here is something particular). They were twelve days coming from Cochoquin and the moravians went to meet M. Deplanteur that was sick. A party paid by the English have stopt me and I dare not follow them; a great quantity of the party were in search of me and would have taken me to Detroit. I hid myself till the party separated." Penn. Arch. X, 551.

Dejean a Haldinand. MONSIEUR:—I have at last (at the request of M. Benthley, who has rendered me great services) obtained permission to come this far, but you will perceive by the letter which the Commandant will send you, that I cannot come to Detroit. Moreover being advised that the House of Commons at London, the advocates of the province of Quebec and the Grand Jury charge me with the faults of Governor Hamilton, whether committed by him or by myself in obedience to his orders, I will wait till he has been to England to put forward the defence which he claims to have, as I do not wish (after having borne the chains at Williamsburgh for a hundred and twenty-nine days) to be his scapegoat. I have requested the Commandant to send you the parole which I have accepted. You may judge for yourself whether in signing it I have failed in my duty. Moreover General Philips and General Hamilton have signed a similar one. After Captain de la Motte and myself had accepted the parole, he refused to assist us, saying that before leaving the prison we must foresee from what side would come our aid. I have written to the Commandant at Detroit asking him to permit Madame Dejean to join me with my children. Seeing for myself the dire necessity of exile (after my sufferings) for the faults of another, The circumstances of the time and my present situation prevent my saying more. I have honor to be with the most profound respect, your very humble and obedient servant. Vincennes, July 28, 1780. P. Dejean.

[3] Translation in Ill. Hist. Col. 2, 551. The address of Sept. 17th is in Vol. V, on p. 181.

He next appears at Kaskaskia on the 24th of September, making preparations for his expedition. He estimated that he would be at Vermilion on the 10th day of October and would there meet those who were to join him from Vincennes. He remained nearly a month at Kaskaskia.

Richard McCarty reported on October 14th that LaBalm had been at Kaskaskia raising a party to go against Detroit and that the people had sent memorials by him to Congress and to the French envoy at Philadelphia. LaBalm told the people that French troops would be there in the spring.[1]

Among other preparations for an advance into the country controlled by the English, LaBalm undertook to ascertain the disposition of the French citizens and others whom he might meet on the road to Detroit and at that place. At Miami he reported a thousand pounds of powder with lead, arms, blankets and other merchandise in the storehouse of Beaubien and in charge of Lafontaine. Beaubien and Lafontaine were both from Detroit and the former was closely connected with the British, and in their employ. He was greatly disliked and distrusted by LaBalm and his followers. The inhabitants at this post were "inclined to the cause."

At Roche de Bout there were stored ammunition and provisions and some cannon. At Sandusky there were stationed some British soldiers. At Detroit, on the south side of the river, were many Frenchmen, a few only of whom were ill-disposed. He reports that Monforton (who was register of deeds at a later time) should be watched; that Adhemar was a dangerous man; Gregoire (Gregor McGregor, a sheriff at a later date), an Englishman, was a thorough scoundrel; that Navarre (the royal notary under the French) was a treacherous man; and Anthony (probably George Christian Anthon, surgeon at Detroit, son-in-law of Adhemar, and father of the Greek scholar Charles Anthon) amounts to nothing. Alexis Maisonville was a dog to hang. Others bore better characters in the estimation of LaBalm and his informers. A rough map of the country was made to guide the men on their travels or to show them the villages and posts they were to visit or avoid, as circumstances would dictate.[2]

Before starting LaBalm issued to his followers the following address to increase their enthusiasm in the enterprise:

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[1] Va. St. Pap. 1, 380. McCarthy, in his journal, says: "Col. De la Balme is arrived here from Auposte (Vincennes) with an escort of 30 men. French and Indians and is now at Cahos and St. Louis. Ill. Hist. Soc. Col., Vol. 2, p. 620. "Got permission in writing from Col. Montgomery to go to Cahos and St. Louis on my private business, the 30th sett off for Cahos; arrived Sun. 1st Oct. 2nd went to St. Louis to see my uncle; came back the 4th, when I found Col. de la Balm raising a party for Detroit, of volunteers, with those from Cascaski, Capt. Plassy at their head, our little doctor Ray with them." Richard Winston, also at Kaskaskia wrote at the same time: "There passed this way a Frenchman, called himself Colonel de la Balm, he says in the American service. I look upon him as a malcontent, much disgusted at the Virginians, yet I must say he done some good, he pacified the Indians. He was received by the inhabitants just as the Hebrews would receive the Messiah, was conducted from the post here by a large detachment of the inhabitants as well as different tribes of Indians. He went from here against Detroit being well assured that the Indians were on his side. Got at this place and the Kahos about fifty volunteers. They are to rendezvous at Ouia." Va. St. P. 1, 381.

[2] Manuscript in Haldimand papers. Can. Arch. B. 184[2] p. 494. See appendix 6.

"Address to the Canadians; to the Friends of Liberty!

"Canadians, it is time to take sides. The measure is filled to overflowing. Morally as well as physically there exists bounds beyond which that which was good becomes evil.

"Up to this moment, the excessive patience with which you have armed yourselves against oppression has appeared solely dictated by prudence, by sanity, by worldly principles. It is thus that one judges the men who are watchful of the progress of events. Now that your oppressors preserve no government but humiliations, outrages are the reward of your submission. Now that punishments, torments of all sorts, even death, the most ignominous are offered you as a reward, if you refuse to be the tools of tyranny, it would be stupidity, it would be infamous cowardice to wait longer to throw off the yoke. Do not allow them to bow you down with this terrible yoke. Meet, unfortunate colonists, the evils with which you are threatened and while there yet remains to you a safe resource, make precious use of it. Deprived of the advantages which a vigorous commerce provides, burdened with the enormous expenses which the war in the Indies necessitates, the English nation, a nation shaken, with credit exhausted, will find herself more and more obliged to resort to violence, to exactions the least endurable.

Little scrupulous over choice of means, the government will force you in common with the other inhabitants of America, who have unfolded the standard of liberty, to waste your forces, your blood, your life, in order to forge for each other chains. Then unhappy and innocent victims, you will need to use all your powers to provide for the need of your tyrants. Then you will all be nothing but mean slaves, deprived of the smallest pleasures of life. The authors of your misery will no longer maintain the standard of courage of their forefathers, having humbled themselves, fearing to unite with you; your wives in tears will sigh without respite over their pains and their misery, your children will reproach you for their existence. The whole world, whose envy you can excite, and whose admiration you can arouse, will at last look upon you with the greatest contempt.

"Oh! unfortunate people! what a horrible calamity, what torments await you, if you do not employ a prompt remedy for the evils which are about to be heaped upon you.

"Touched to the quick by your misfortunes, we bring you arms, munitions of war, we come as compatriots, as friends, as brothers, to offer you our arms, to fight our common enemies. We come to conquer or to perish, arms in hand. We come to free you, if you will second our efforts and our daring.

"Hardened by your harsh climate, you can do all in combat. With arms and with determination you can overthrow, crush to atoms, your oppressors, as the north wind bends or breaks the fragile reed.

"Canadians, remember your origin, remember that the blood which flows in your veins took its source among people kind, gentle, generous, yet proud and brave. Be men, a colony which can easily muster sixty thousand foot soldiers is a nation to be feared.

"Ministers of the Savior, be on your guard to avoid conniving at the enslaving of your fellow-citizens, by pernicious insinuations by unwise discourse. Your office authorizes you to watch over your parishioners as to their spiritual needs, but not as to their temporal.

"Oh! you, who pride yourselves on your ships, do not allow yourselves to be dazzled by vague promises, by ridiculous fictions. Do not forget that you are French and that in spite of your rights, you will shortly become the slave of a power which has been perpetually a war with your illustrious ancestors.

"The mother country reaches out to you her arms in aid. She wishes not to conquer but to rule you by wise laws in order to make you happy. She aspires only to unite herself to you, only to send back to your country the abundant streams of products of her soil. From the other side no aid can come to the English. The winds of the north have hardened the surface of the rivers which bathe the wall of your capitol on their majestic way to empty their waters into the great ocean. They present to navigators a resistance unconquerable. They will be ploughed only by the ships of your friend.

"Hasten, Canadians, to end your troubles, you can do it, uniting all in that happy and brilliant era. With what joy, with what prosperity, with what happiness will not your success be followed. My friends, all nature will become bright. She will take on another form to your eyes. Insular European, you must use moderation and justice; you must appreciate the great advantages that you derive from the New World that your arms have fertilized. You need not resort to extreme and foolish measures with the men who furnish you support and make of their wealth an offense. In fact you would enjoy the comforts of peace. While you are in a fatal crisis, you seek to make victims, you proclaim a despotism toward a peaceful people. And far from being submissive or frightened you will have inspired nothing but hatred and a sovereign contempt.

"You have thought to stun, to take by force, the world. You may instead become its support and prey. In a word, America is for England, a country of proscription. Such are the stubborn English. The effects of an ambition without limit; such are the results of false combinations; such is the reward destined for the infamous tyranny." [1]

It will be noted that in this address, while all mention of the United States is omitted, his complaints are all directed against the British government.

The company left Cahokia on the third of October with forty-one men, expecting that others would meet them at Ouia.[2] The journal or orderly book, of LaBalm begins on the 18th day of October, 1780.

[1a] Endorsed "address to the Canadians," found in the papers of Colonel de la Balme.
[2b] Mich. Hist. Society X., 448.

On that date he was at Ouia, devising rules for the orderly march of his little army, and making preparations for an immediate advance. With 103 men he proceeded to the Miami town, where was located the store house of Beaubien. They were well mounted and were only four days on the road. His journal contains the rules he laid down for the preservation of order and the prevention of plundering and other disgraceful actions of soldiers not under proper control.[1]

He remained twelve days at Miami, waiting for troops that were expected to arrive from Vincennes. He hoped to assemble there a body of four hundred Canadians and Indians. Looking upon Beaubien as an enemy to their cause, La Balm seized his goods, provided his followers with such articles as they needed, and ordered the rest divided into three parts. One portion was to defray the expenses of the levy of the legion. Another portion was reserved for the Indians, both those with the army and those who were to join them. The remaining portion was reserved for the "French, including the officers, except, of course, those who return from Miami, with the exception of the interpreter, will have only a half share, because it would not be fair for them to be treated as well as those who are destined to free their compatriots at Detroit and the other French."

At the time of LaBalm's entry into the Miami towns, most of the Indians were absent, and it was not until he had been there twelve days that they began to return. After waiting so many days without word from the remainder of his troops, LaBalm feared that they would not arrive in time to proceed with him, and he withdrew with the plunder that he had collected, to Aboite Creek, some sixteen miles. The different accounts all agree that here he was attacked in the night by the Indians under Little Turtle, urged on by Beaubien and Lafountaine, who had returned to their home only to find their home robbed and had followed up the maurauders. LeBalm was taken by surprise by the night attack, and was soon defeated in the engagement that followed. LaBalm and many of his followers were killed, and many others taken prisoners and carried to Detroit.

The first news of LaBalm's battle, although imperfect in some particulars, contains some information not in the subsequent reports. DePeyster wrote, on November 13th: "A detachment of Canadians from the Illinois and Post Vincent arrived there (at the Miami's town) about ten days ago, and entered the village, took the horses, destroyed the horned cattle, and plundered a store I allowed to be kept there for the convenience of the Indians, who soon after assembled and attacked the Canadians, led by a French colonel, whose commission I have the honor to enclose. The Miami, receiving the fire of the enemy, had five of their party killed, being, however, more resolute than savages are in general, they beat off the enemy, killed thirty and

[1] See Journal. Appendix 5.

took LaBalm prisoner, with his papers which I also enclose. I expect the colonel in every hour." "You will see from this that this excursion was no less an attempt on Detroit, independent of the rebels." [1]

La Salle's story of LaBalm is slightly different and gives other details. He says that LaBalm took possession of the Miami village without resistance, and remained there some days trying to win over the six or eight French traders to his cause. After plundering Beaubien's storehouse, he retired to near Aboite Creek and encamped. Beaubien and Lafontaine incited the Indians to follow and attack LaBalm. They soon collected the warriors under their chief, Little Turtle, and fell upon the French in the night time, killing nearly all of them.[2]

That LaBalm succeeded in raising an army and proceeding so far on his way to Detroit without a note of warning being sent to DePeyster, the officer in charge of that place, was a matter of surprise to the military department. DePeyster wrote concerning it: "But what astonished me was that they were near twelve days at Miami, before we got the account of it here." Haldimand said that "it was certainly the beginning of a general attack planned against the province." He thought, however, that the Miami Indians were acting from interested motives, in not conveying notice of LaBalm's approach to the British.[3] The Indians, themselves, said it was because LaBalm's soldiers would not permit them to leave their village.

It was some time before information of the affair reached Governor Haldimand, but when the news came to him, he immediately wrote to DePeyster, as follows: "I have received your letter of the 15th of November, reporting the defeat of Mons. LaBalm, and transmit-

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[1] Mich. Hist. Soc. XIX, 581. LaBalm's aide, Rhé, (or Rey) said there were four hundred men under LaBalm, but only three hundred of them reached the Miami town. Ibid 582. Dr. Rey, "Our little doctor," as he is called in one place, was carried to Detroit, and there gave an account of the entire exploit. Mich. Hist. Soc. X, 448. It is to be regreted that Rey's account was not reduced to writing for preservation.

Quebec, 3rd, Decr., 1780.

Lord Geo. Germain,

My Lord—"I retarded the sailing of the last vessel from this Post in hopes of the Arrival of an Express from Halifax with the Dispatches which were on board the "Garland" Frigate for me, & with a view to give Your Lordship account as late as possible from this Country.

"The Vessel would have sailed yesterday had it not been on shore for want of Precaution of the master in not bringing it to the proper Wharf, the weather has set in so very cold & the Ice forms so fast that there is a risk of the vessel not getting away, however its stay has given me time to receive this day letters from Detroit & Niagara which confirms the loss of the armed ship "Ontario," upon the lake of the same name

Inclosed is a return of the officers & others who perished on that occasion.

"I likewise sent your Lordship a copy of a letter from Major de Peyster of the 8th Regiment who commanded at Detroit, I consider this attempt of Colonel Balme as in part of the execution of that Plan which the Enemy has formed—I am sorry to find the Canadians in the Upper Country are so lost to a sense of their Duty & are so much inclined to favor the Plan of the Enemy—The necessity of a strong Force in order to guard so extensive a Country is evident. Your Lordship will likewise observe how very incumbent it is upon the Commanding Officer at Detroit to take care what kind of men he allows to go as Traders into the Indian Country—The present is not the time for pushing Commerce, it is that of Defence, & nothing will more tend to keep the Indian Allies to their Duty than to make them feel a Dependence upon the King their Father for such goods as have now become in some manner necessary to their existence. I know that the Traders, either ignorant of the necessity, or indifferent to every Consideration but that of interest, will not fail to complain against the Commanding Officer as being influenced by Partiality in the choice of the Traders, whom he sends there, but such is the Misfortune in this distant Country, that an Officer who does his Duty, must suffer the abuse of Popular clamor till such time as experience will discover his motives & justify his conduct.

I have the Honor to be, &ca. &ca.,

(Signed) Fred Haldimand.

Can. Arch. Series B., Vol. 57, pt. 2, p. 316.

[2] Brice's Hist. Fort Wayne, p. 104. The Aboite was a small stream emptying into the Wabash above Fort Wayne. Law's Hist. of Vincennes, where there are several notes on LaBalm, p. 133. Dillon's Hist. Ind., Vol. I, p. 189.

[3] Mich. Hist. Soc. IX, 641.

ting his commission, etc. I consider this event as a very fortunate circumstance, and recommend strongly to you to study every means by which it can be improved. It was certainly the beginning of a general attack planned upon this province, which, from different intelligence, I have received, I have every reason to think will be attempted in the spring against the upper posts.[1]

The affair was a sensation to the officers and commandants. It conveyed a threat of something of more importance yet to come and put the posts on the lookout. The logical point for an attack on Canada was Quebec, as the capture and retention of that stronghold would have put all the western posts at the mercy of the Americans, but it appeared now that the attack was to come from the west and that with the aid of the Canadians, Detroit and Mackinac would soon be taken and filled with troops friendly to the rebels, who would soon sweep down upon Montreal and Quebec. How thankful were the British that the first attack had met with so severe a repulse!

Every precaution was made to prevent a further surprise. Additional troops were sent to Detroit. The store house of Beaubien was replenished. Disaffected people at Detroit and Mackinac were ordered from the county, or were forcibly carried as prisoners to Quebec. DePeyster was a capable commandant and he was retained in his position at Detroit until after the war was ended. The states were too poor in money and men to make an attack on Detroit that could carry it. Bird, McKee, Elliott, and the Girtys, with their Indian companions, invaded the southern country time and again and carried back to Detroit plunder and scalps and prisoners, and no resistance of any importance was ever offered them.

In the summer of 1780, DePeyster had sent several detachments with Indians to annoy the settlers on the frontier and in Kentucky. McKee and Bird had returned from one of these expeditions in August, and McKee had immediately set out to arouse the Indians for another attempt.[2]

He was to receive the support of the rangers and Chabert's Canadian Volunteers. Rumors were afloat that the Americans were coming from Fort Pitt and the Creoles were about to attack Mackinac, but there is no mention in any of the official reports that there was anything wrong

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[1] Misc. of an officer, 250. Letter dated Jan. 6, 1781.

"In vain shall medicine kettles boil,
They'll not repay the juggler's toil;
Each path would soon be covered o'er
With brains, stones and human gore,
While troubled waters lash the shore,
Observe the wretched Kickapoose:
What have they gained by Lenctot's news?
The Ottagams, Pioreas and Sacks,
Have scarce a blanket on their backs."

Miscellanies of an Officer. (Arent Schuyler DePeyster.) Original edition, (1813), p. 20. Reprint, p. 7.

In one of his letters to the Indians, DePeyster says: "Send me that little babbling Frenchman, named Monsieur Linctot, he who poisons your ears, one of those who says he can amuse you with words only. Send him to me or be the means of my getting him, and I will then put confidence in you. I then will deal with you as with the other Indians whom I call my friends, my brothers and my children, and to whom I request you to give free passage and kind entertainment. If you have not an opportunity to bring me the little Frenchman, you may bring me some Virginia prisoners." Misc. of an officer, p. 252.

[2] Mich. Hist. Soc. X, 420.

in the direction of Kaskaskia. The proceedings of LaBalm were entirely unknown to the British Military Department, and no information concerning him or his enterprise was conveyed to Detroit, except the letter from Bentley, elsewhere mentioned. The Indians from St. Joseph to the number of 200, came to Detroit with Dequindre in the last of August.[1]

There has been some claim made that LaBalm planned the sacking of St. Joseph, which took place some time after the battle of the Miamis. This would seem to be hardly probable as that affair occurred after LaBalm's death and resulted from an incursion led by a half-breed French-Indian, Hamelin, and an Irishman, Thomas Brady. It was organized for plunder only. The robbers retreated up the lake shores until they were overtaken by the Indians, who had returned to St. Joseph. Several of them were killed. Brady was taken a prisoner to Detroit, where he informed DePeyster that he no longer wished to live under the American flag. He subsequently escaped and returned to his old home.

It was Dequindre who led these Indians when they defeated the raiders Hamelin and Brady after they had sacked St. Joseph. The defeat at St. Joseph and Miamis encouraged the Indians to adhere to the British.[2]

Perhaps it was just as well, for the final result of the war, that LaBalm met defeat at the time he did, but we are inclined to think as the Spanish Governor at that time wrote concerning him: "I am very sorry for what has happened to Monsieur LaBalme, and that, in my opinion, the same had a great part in having, perhaps, attempted with improduence, an undertaking which needed more time, more strength and better circumstances.[3]

APPENDIX I.

LaBalm's Proposal.

Colonel de laBalme proposes to enter the American service.

Considering the advantage which the Americans can have over the Royalists, it is in their power to provide themselves with cavalry. That branch of the service is the most active and the most destructive when given free rein, is a source of great strength in battle, where it nearly always determines the result, and especially in a close campaign. That is a fact generally admitted.

M. de la Balme offers to get ready, in three months, four hundred horse and some Indians, as it will be necessary to instruct some men to direct them with effect against the enemy and to execute the necessary evolutions dependent on circumstances, he asks:

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[1] Can. Archives, B. 122, p. 537.

[2] Mich. Hist. X, 465. Clark attempted in 1779, to raise troops to attack St. Joseph, destroy the fortifications and return with the stores to Louisville. The party to lead this expedition was James Selby. DePeyster reported that Selby was unable to obtain volunteers for this expedition, for they had no shoes, and consequently could not undertake it. Can. Arch., B. 184, p. 131.

[3] Letter of Martin Navarro, translated in Wis. Hist. Col., XVIII, 423.

1st. To be chief of that corps, to command it under the orders of the general, to advise the council in those matters which it appears to him are most suited for that kind of service.

2nd. To have the expenses of the journey defrayed as well as those of one or two persons of his suite.

As to equipment M. de la Balme does not ask that it be considerable. It is not as a mercenary that he would use his arms and the talent with which he is perhaps endowed, but as a zealous and intrepid defender of liberty.

Notice M. de la Balme names many persons of the first rank who will bear witness to the honesty of his character and his military capacity, on request.

Papers of the Continental Congress.
78. VII, f. 155

Regulation of the Honourable the Congress for the Troops of the Continent of America, which the United States maintain, to defend their respective Rights against the unjust Encroachments of the British King and Parliament.

Containing 7 Articles	Chapter the First Dispositions for a Campaign. 2 of Provisions, 3 of Magazines 4 of Subsistance 5 o Distributions 6 Deposits and 7 of Carriages and Equipages.
Containing 7 Articles	Chapter the Second. 1 of Levies 2 of the Assembling of Troops. 3 of cloathing them 4 of the Formation of different Corps 5 of their Duty, 6 of the order of Battle either for the Offensive part or for a Defencive.
Containing 6 Articles	Chapter the Third. 1 of the Manual of the Gun 2 of the Attack or the Defence of the Post 3 of Evolutions 4 of the Charges 5 of the Retreat 6 of the Duty of Officers in General and that of a Soldier.
Containing 6 Articles	Chapter the Fourth. 1 of Flying Camps 2 of Detachments 3 of Corps of Observation 4 of Guards 5 of the Parole 6 of Order.
Containing 9 Articles	Chapter the Fifth. 1 of Marches 2 of lying on their Arms 3 of Encamping 4 of Quarters 5 of Leave of Absence 6 of Furlows limited or absolute and 7 of Military Rewards or Punishments.
37 Articles in 5 Chapters.	

Note. These 5 Chapters containing but 37 Articles, it will be very easy for every military Person to instruct himself in the Principles of War, which it is indispensably necessary for him to understand well in order for him to be entitled to success in Arms. As to the Evolutions of the different, Troops I shall give Plans of them with an Explanation which will make them easy to be understood by every one; And by simplifying them and adapting them to the Nature of the Country in which the War is carried on, and to the learning and genius of the

Individuals which compose the American Army relative to the duty of different Corps, I doubt they may be perfectly learned in less than two Months by only exercising the Troops once or twice P week, two hours each time.

APPENDIX II.

Papers of the Continental Congress.
No. 78 VII folio 149.
Letter from Mons. de la Balm.
read 13 Jany. 1778
referred the board of war
Colo. de la Balme
no date Recd. & ansd.
11 Jany. 1778.

Sir.

In Consideration of the Zeal for the American Cause which animates me, suffer me to remind you, that there is already some considerable time elapsed since I had the Honour of communicating to you a Hint concerning Canada. In War, Success is frequently merited by a timely Attention, especially in Expeditions which require the Assistance of particular Seasons.

I know not whether the Revolution which I propose to excite in that Country, is thought of little Importance. Upon a simple State of the Business, such as that which I gave in, it is very possible to entertain an unfavourable idea of it. But let me beg it as a favour, not to be condemned unheard. I have such Reasons to oppose to the Objections which may be made to my Proposal as will I dare hope, sufficiently justify it.

Without entering here into the Detail necessary to discuss my Opinion with Judgment I may in the mean time say. That the English seeing us attempt nothing on Canada, and leaving only feeble Garrisons to guard it may from thence afford Genl. Howe considerable Reinforcments, and act vigourously in Concert with him in any other Part of the Continent

Deprived in part of the Advantages of Commerce, irritated by the vague Promises of an obstinate King and Parliament, over charged with Taxes, and burthered with a War which they are forced to carry on against Countries too distant for a People whose Credit is already exhausted, The English Nation will soon by their Joint Clamour, extort orders to their Generals to use Artifice, Force and Violence which commonly degenerates into Cruelty. Carleton then will quit his mild manner and use his Authority. He in the last Campaign forced 500 Canadians to take up Arms against America. In the ensuing he may perhaps enroll 5 or 6000, whose Assistance, with a little Foresight we might have to combat the Enemies of Liberty to more advantage.

I hope Sir you will not disapprove of Reflexions occasioned by the real Attachment which I have to a Cause equally to you, and that you will accept of the respectful Sentiments with which

I am Sir

Your very hble. Servant

De La Balme.

I take the Liberty of begging you would inform me whether the Honourable Congress have determined any thing concerning the Continuance of my Appointments

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APPENDIX III.

Papers of the Continental Congress,
No. 78. VII folio 151.
The Rt. Honourable
Collonel Lawrens—
Presidt. of the Honn'e. Congress.
Colo. La Balme
Letter from Col. de la Balme
Yorktown 22 Jany. 1778.
read 26.
referred to the board of war.

Sir

Always in hopes of concurring to the good success of the American arms, I have the honour to offer you my services for working concurrently with any other Officer, about a military regulation, of which a succinct plan is hereby inclosed. As soon as I've been able to examine attentively your troops and your Army, I've been sensible of the urging necessity you are in for drawing a general Plan concerning the Capital Operations, and the duty which every individual ought to perform according to the place which he occupies.

The Romans were always repeating: *It is not from the number, nor from a blind Valour; that the Victory is to be expected; but it is from a good order and from the Knowledge of War.* In fact, nothing is more like a Cahos, specially in an engagement, than an Army without order, and unacquainted with the greatest part of the military principle. Therefore, as all the Nations who alternatively subdued the Known world, always paid a particular regard to the precepts of the Art of War, and as people who have no notion of the Laws can't be considered as infraction of them, I think that it would be essential in this rising State to prescribe what the American Soldiers are to learn and to perform exactly.

I have already made that proposal, to one of the members of the Honn'e. Congress a long while ago, but he did not take any notice of it, I suppose by some well grounded motives which I don't know, and which I never tried to hear. However it be, if you think I'm able to undertake something usefull to the United States, give me the means of shewing my zeal in this occasion, and of employing my leasure fructuously. It is what I wish the most.

My request is not caused by a blind presumption. I've made my own study of the Art of War a long while ago, and I ask to work only in competition with every other Officer, persuaded that the writings of those whose opinions are more right and conform to your interest will be preferred. It is in that manner that it should be acted when it is question of important projects, in requiring the superior Officers to give up their advice by writing. Nothing would be more proper for containing a great many people, who question nothing, when they are only to speak, and for getting out of conceit with those with a foolish presumption, try to impose upon other people. For, it may be remarked that in this age, in everything and every Country, selfish interest makes great progress, and that the pernicious spirit of gulling is creeping in every where.

I've the honour to be, with a respectuous regard,

Sir,

Your obedient and humble Ser'v't.

Col'o. La Balme.

Yorktown 22'd. January
1778.

Library of Congress.
In "Old Washington Calendar." George Washington, 1732-1799.
Manuscripts, Vol. 6, folio 235.
Colo. De la Balmes,
(Endorsed). Explanation of the duty of Inspector General of Cavalry.
1778.

Colonel de la Balme has the honour of exposing To your excellency, That,

The duty of an inspector General is to learn a troop of horses how to manage Their horses and dress them well, to look over Their arms & reimplace new one's if it is wanted, to have. The charge of The accoutrements, furniture & generally of every article belonging to troop of cavalry as well to The horses, to discipline & exercise all The different regiments of light horses.

Colonel la Balme shall address himself to his excellency every Time he shall think proper to make some alterations in order to have The approbation and orders of The commander in chief.

Nota. Colonel la Balme intentions are to simplify every Thing concerning The light horse troops & to render The exercises only useful to the present war That his excellency carries on on This continent. he and no other views in coming to america, but to be useful & live well with all The good people of This Country. he desires nothing so much as conciliating The hearts and friendship of all The gentlemen with which he is to serve in order That he might contribute to The good of america by union & conCord which are so necessary among officers That defend so good a cause.

Colonel la Balme beseech your excellency to be sensible of it till he be in a position to give positive proofs of his behaviours accordingly.

APPENDIX IV.

To the Public—

Soon doth the war, that Scourge of Man exert its poignant Rigours over the Country, where it has fixed its Seat—Even by that War which the United States of America have waged to defend their Rights, against the Ambitious and unjust attempts of the King of Great Britain and his Parliament, many Men, as well Americans as strangers, have been reduced to dire Miseries.

Colonel de la Balme, a French officer, sympathizing with their distresses, has begun to erect about 28 miles from Philadelphia a Row of Workshops, where such of those Sufferers who are destitute of any other expedients, may honestly, if they incline to Work, by means of their own Labour, overcome the difficulties of their Misfortunes.

Soldiers, Sailors, Deserters from any Troops (except the American Army and French Navy) Carpenters, Bakers, &c, of any Number, shall be employed if possible in such sort of Business as is most suitable to their Constitution, Trade and Faculties. They shall have good wages, victuals, lodgings, Fuel Candles and Washing at the Expense of the Undertaker, and if he be satisfied with their conduct they shall be sufficiently cloathed so as to Repel the Rigours of Winter.

Note—The Diet is to be: Before going to Work a Crust of Bread, & a Biscuit, and a glass of the best Rum; Breakfast, Fruit, Potatoes and broil'd meat; For Dinner, Soup and boil'd meat; Supper, Soup and roasted meat. Fresh meat will be served as much as can be, and from time to time some Beer or Cyder."

Mons: de la Balm has taken and always shall take great care to chuse for his Working places such as have a wholesome Air and pure Waters; and in General, he will use all means that can be devised by Man for the Preservation of Health of the Persons to be employed by him—an advantage which is very valuable to everybody, but more especially to those who are cast upon a strange Country.

Any person wanting Employ may enquire of Mr. Charles Berger, who will acquaint them with the particulars of the hereinbefore proposed Settlement. He lodges with M. Panet, master of the French Language, in Cherry Alley, at Philadelphia.

Those who will agree and be of good Morals, in good Bodily Health and Strength, and willing to make the best use thereof, Drunkards, Men of quarrelsome and Licentious Dispositions, stupid and slothful Fellows, must be discharged as soon as they discover any of these failings; For a Watchful eye will be kept over all, that each may do his work at the best of his abilities, and live in Peace with everyone. And as order is absolutely requisite where a certain Number of Persons are Collected, and the success of their Enterprises most always depends thereon, so certain Regulations are made to which every Man must oblige himself to submit.

Whatever be the success of this Undertaking, the author shall consider himself doubly recompenced for his trouble if on one side he can

give some Relief to infortunate Men, and if, on the other, he can in greater abundance procure such Articles as the Public stands in need of, and of which Philadelphia is in the greatest want.

Note—Shortly will be mentioned in the Public Papers the Place in the City of Philadelphia where a Magazine is to be kept of Timber & Wood for Carpenters, Turners, Joiners, Wheelwrights, Firewood and Cedar prepared for making Inclosures, which will be sold rather cheaper than the ordinary prices.

Philadelphia, Printed by Henry Miller, 1778.

—Canadian Archives, B. 184, pt. II, p. 398.

APPENDIX V.

Order given today the 18th of October, 1780, by Colonel de la Balme to his division.

Colonel de la Balme orders all the young men who have come with him to the Ouyas, to conduct themselves properly, to overhaul their arms so that they will lack nothing on the expedition which he proposes to make, to keep their arms in the best condition possible, not to wander aside at their leisure without his permission: to use fair means in their treatment of the inhabitants of Ouyas, who are well disposed to entertain us in their homes among them, to care for their horses, taking good care that they do not stray off, to live among them on friendly terms, to conduct themselves as becomes soldiers, to impart to Col. de la Balme whatever information they can obtain conducing to the success of the expedition which he proposes, to observe the most careful secrecy regarding it, to bring along with them the leaden bullets which were distributed among them, not to wander off at night, to hold themselves ready to be called, because the small number of men, and their fatigue, will not permit a guard to be posted.

Colonel de la Balme has too good an opinion of the young men who have been willing to follow him not to expect that they will conform to this, his order.

Signed,

Col. de la Balme.

Order given the 18th at Ouya.

The soldiers of the expedition under project are ordered to hold themselves in readiness for instant departure. To that end M. Plasq will distribute provisions necessary for twelve days and forty rounds of powder and ball to each. They will assemble at three o'clock at the house of M. Magnau in order to have the time needed to prepare for departure or try to assist the foot-soldiers as much as possible.

Colonel de la Balme commands constant observance of the silence and secrecy so necessary to the success of the enterprise and and he asks them to inform him concerning all matters conducive to it. The inhabitants of Ouya who propose to join the detachment are invited to meet at the rendezvous announced above, in order that their names and number

may be obtained. The more there are, the better things will go. All the French have the same interests. It is the cause of all which has induced us to march against our common enemies. Accordingly we have the same reason to end our troubles and expose the cruelties which have tormented us every day, by vigorous action.

Signed,

Col. de la Balme.

Order of the 19th given at Ouya.

Captains Plasq and Cravoin are requested by Colonel de la Balme to make arrangements necessary to have twelve young men mount guard today. They will assemble at ten o'clock precisely before the house of M. Magnau for inspection by the Colonel who expects that his young soldiers will be in good military order.

A sentinel will be placed outside of each of the gates of the fort, who will be on duty two hours, and each of the others will do the same to complete the twenty-four hours. Their orders will be to cry "Qui Vive" to all men they can see when they are within hearing, whether they be friends or enemies. The sentinels will cry "Halt there," and immediately summon the guard to come and investigate. He will detail five men who will march two by two preceded by the officer of the guard. When they are within hearing they will cry also "Qui Vive," ordering a halt to the troops whether they are friends or enemies. They will detail one man to advise the commandant or any other officer of the garrison. The rest will fall back to the sentinel to fire together upon the enemy. In case they advance, they will load their guns promptly after having closed the gate of the fort, crying out in a loud voice "To arms! To arms!" Then all the soldiers will betake themselves to the point where the guard calls for aid, while the sentinel on the opposite side will enter the gate, and close it quickly if the enemy have not come upon him. If that has happened, he too, will call out loudly, "To arms!"

The officers will preserve the most exact order possible to avoid the confusion which usually occurs at such a time.

The officers are requested to make a copy of this order, and indeed of the preceding ones in a little book designed for the purpose, in order to read them several times to the troops that each soldier may engrave them on his memory and inform himself of the military principles which will make for their own safety and for the success of our undertaking.

Signed,

Col. de la Balme.

Order of the 21st, given at Ouya.

The soldiers of the detachment are requested to hold themselves ready to mount their horses before the gate of the fort at two o'clock precisely. Delitalieu much desires to take upon himself to distribute to the soldiers of post Vincennes provisions sufficient for twelve days, to refill the powder horns, and to give to each forty bullets, of course to those who shall be willing to come with us to our friends in arms.

Colonel de la Balme expects that they will all hasten to the post without losing an instant at Ouya because the briefest moments in war

are always very precious, and since the Colonel is persuaded that it is not their fault that they have not come sooner, he will preserve for them their share of the booty which he hopes to seize from the accursed Baubin.

If the men of Post Vincennes make as good time as I hope, they will join us at the first arming, or we will be compelled to wait for them a while in order to set together for La Roche debout where provisions and goods await us to change hands.

It is expressly enjoined that each man shall keep his distance, march in good order without much noise, in a word in military order.

Signed,

Col. de la Balme.

Order of the 22nd.

The officer of the mounted guard will march preceded by the light infantry to compose the advance guard. That officer and his troop will regulate their march so that they will be only about two thousand paces from the army, being constantly on the lookout for the enemy, to prevent surprise. He will moreover take care not to let any one pass in advance without permission in writing from the Commandant. He will place under arrest all those whom he finds on his route whenever it is possible for him to do it.

Those who are henceforth found in advance of the ordinary guard will be arrested and will be tried as deserters or spies, and will be dealt with according to the decision of the Council.

The march will be made at a pace so regulated that the foot-soldiers laden with supplies can follow, and not fall prey to the enemy.

As for those who are compelled to stop perhaps from some accident, let them remove themselves a little from the line of march in order not to hinder those who follow them, and if there is a bad passage or they are stopped by the preceding file, let them turn to right and left, and do their best not to stop the rest of the column and to pass in succession, and file through as promptly as possible.

It is enjoined to each to start only when so ordered, and to live together peaceably and on good terms.

On the march, let great attention to rules be given, preserving a distance of five paces only between the men. They will follow the column at a distance of a thousand paces.

The greatest silence is enjoined always. It is expressly forbidden to fire arms. If we are attacked by night, let every man station himself quickly on the left side of the camp, in good order and silently, in as close a formation as possible, in order not to fire on our troops, and to avoid the confusion, which is always too great on such occasions. If it is necessary to retreat, the men of Ouya and Vincennes post will set out promptly to station themselves a hundred paces in the rear in order to place themselves advantageously and to hold themselves ready to fire immediately after the soldiers have retreated a hundred paces in order to station themselves better. At the first order, load promptly in order to fire when the others have passed them. Then all alternately

when they are advised of the same. If it is necessary to advance, let them do it, passing always at the same distance, and marching always as far as possible under the shelter of the trees.

The officers of the guard will keep to the rear in order to give the alarm as soon as possible, while the officers of the mounted guard will command the advance guard, and when he has information to give he will detail a man instead of quitting his post, and in case he (discovers) the number of the enemy to be superior to his own, he will withdraw his troop quickly without discharging their guns.

If we are attacked at the head of the column let the word be passed to form a line of battle at the front. If it is (at the rear) of the column, in that case one will stay in the rear. If it is on the flank, let it cry to the other "In battle array!"

The officers are particularly charged to preserve good order, and see that no one

They must not forget that they should set a good example on all occasions.

Signed,

Col. de la Balme.

Order of the 23rd.

Colonel de la Balme who according to strict military procedure should not leave the body of his army, wishes indeed to promote the success of our enterprise by going on the advance to surround the post of Ouia. He asks therefore the foot-soldiers and the cavalry who have the strongest horses to accompany him and help to carry out his purpose.

The officers of the guard will remain to watch at their post to preserve carefully good order in the guard, to prevent disturbance in the camp and to make frequent rounds to see that the sentinels are obeying orders.

It is an example which they must set and a duty which they cannot in any way escape.

Signed,

Col. de la Balme.

Order of the 25th.

An exact observance of the order of march, silence particularly in approaching the Ouias, good order on entering that post is strictly enjoined. The sentinels outside as well as within will take great care to arrest anyone who is about to wander away, and will see especially that no one carries anything away. They will warn the commandant if they perceive troops or Indians who are assembled to a certain number and stop them by a challenge, close to where they have been discovered.

In camp likewise let great care be taken to prevent confusion and tumult in order to hear distinctly the orders which it may be necessary to give in case of unforseen events and that we may be able (to act) with diligence in collecting our baggage.

I enjoin all and especially the officers to treat with consideration the French who would not yield to the infamous solicitations of the English,

while as to those inhabitants who have stirred up the Indians to spill the blood of their compatriots, let them be seized. If they resist take them at once under guard to the house of Srs Marts, that they may be prevented from seizing arms under pain of death and leaving the place where they shall have been confined without any sort of protestations until the Commandmant has given them permission.

We are all French, therefore, civilized, honorable intercourse and pleasantries are permissible between us, but outrages, violence, particularly toward women, are entirely forbidden to us. The sex more worthy of our compassion than our anger demands from us every sort of consideration.

The greatest favor that the soldiers who have wished to join the volunteers and Colonel de la Balme could give to him the best proof they could furnish him of their regard lies in acting in obedience to his orders.

It suffices that the decent men have their faces in their hands in order not to succeed.

Signed,

Col. de la Balme.

Order of the 26th.

Immediately after dinner the young men will continue to mount a guard of sixteen men. Colonel de la Balme to be inspected solely as to their arms which should be in good order and loaded or carried along with their belongings, which are elsewhere at the house of Mr. Coutures where Mr. Prive is, to pass order. The officers must take great pains in that respect.

Colonel de la Balme would be denying himself a great satisfaction were he not to inform the young men who have followed him, that their great activity and their resolution has given him the greatest satisfaction and that he views that circumstances in the light of a certain presage of the success of our expedition.

Signed,

Col. de la Balme.

Order of the 27th.

The soldiers arrived at Miami and those who are coming are advised, as they have already been to hold themselves ready to depart at the first command. After this every one must have his arms in readiness and prepare provisions for twenty days, he must go to the tailors who will make the clothing necessary to withstand the rigors of winter.

All the young men except those who form the guard will assemble before the house of Baubin with their arms and their equipment.

M. Newson is charged (to deliver) to the Americans the orders which are given. He will assist as well as M. Saint Core and Bapti de Lisle as well as the officers in the distributions and other necessary details.

The officers are enjoined to exercise kindness and civility in their commands which should have reference only to what concerns the order and service, and when it happens that those who are ordered to do such and such things that may be necessary, shall refuse to obey the

order, the officers instead of using violence in any form, will report to Colonel de la Balme who after having given the order himself without being obeyed, will pronounce the person a rebel as being a very bad example and consequently being more hurtful than useful to the projected enterprise.

We are all working in the same cause, we are all friends, but it is necessary that officers command any body of men assembled, if they do not wish to be regarded as brigands, if they do not wish to make themselves hated by himself, one succeeds at nothing. Here is what each soldier must do and he must conform himself to that absolutely.

Signed,

Col. de la Balme.

It will be necessary in spite of their fatigue, for the late arrivals to augment the guard by six men in order to place a sentinel outside the post within hearing, to prevent some evil minded person from carrying off some of our canoes, and who will notify the guard if any such thing is attempted.

The gentlemen will report to Colonel de la Balme concerning the condition in which they find affairs.

The young men who propose to continue their career in this enterprise which has brought us together will declare their intentions in that regard. It is proposed to all those of Ouia, and other young men of good will and resolution, that they make known their intentions. They will enroll therefore tomorrow morning or sometime later in the day.

After the food and ammunition, the arms and effects which belong to the Indians and the necessary clothing as well as the stuff destined to clothe them is deducted, the effects which are still at Baubiens will be distributed and divided according to the announcement made above. The goods will be divided into three parts.

One of the portions is intended to defray the expenses of the expedition and for the pay of the legion. The two others will be distributed, the one to the Indians as presents except to those who are absent, and the other to the French, including the officers, except of course that those who return from Miami, with the exception of the interpreter, will have only a half share because it would not be fair for them to be treated as well as those who are destined to free their compatriots at Detroit and the other French. This will entitle them to a double recompense.

The persons named for the distribution as well as the officers will come tomorrow morning from nine to ten o'clock to the lodging of the Colonel to distribute the necessary salt and corn to the young men.

It is very important that about forty or forty-five men set out at the earliest moment to stop the loaded canoes which are coming from the Ouia, before those who conduct them are warned of our arrival. The Colonel will give to this detachment such written instructions as will contribute to the success of that very important measure.

The officers will take great care from this moment to obtain the names of those persons who will willingly march, and report their condition to the Colonel tomorrow at guard mount.

The Colonel observes that considerable time has already elapsed since his arrival at the Ouia. If he had had men the detachment would have set out before this. Every one ought to perceive that the least delay is harmful to his interest. Every one ought to consider this in order to receive his courage in consequence.

Col de la Balme.

APPENDIX VI.

Information concerning the Miamis, etc., etc.

What is the quantity and nature of the merchandise which is at Miami?

A thousand pounds of powder and of lead in proportion, arms, blankets, cloth, shirts, and other merchandise of trade value at about Fifty Thousand livres, the whole in the warehouse of Beaubien in charge of Monsieur Lafountaine and an old man. Another warehouse of M. Montou, an associate of Beaubien valued at about Fifty Thousand livres.

Who are the inhabitants to whom it is entrusted and their names? their character?

Mons. Barthelemy, M. Rivard, Mons. Sevrance, M. Guoin, of Detroit, M. Lascelle, M. Pottervin, M. Paillet, M. Duplessy and other individuals, equally inclined toward the cause, an American named George, who is moreover a Jew.

What are the posts, where there are traders with merchandise?

LaRoche du Bout, Twenty-four leagues from Detroit, a depot where there are ammunition, provisions and a trader. There must not be forgotten the canons which are disposed in different places about this post.

Where are the stations to which the English look for help for the expedition of the Chatouinons?

Sandoisque thirty leagues from Detroit by Lake Erie where they can get soldiers who support the Chatouinons above that place and Grand Village.

On the south side.

M. Labelle, father, the Beaubiens, north and south, M. Magantel, Godet, kinsman of M. de Placey, Father Potier, a good old man, speaking Huron (Morrisceau mistrusts him), Melosche, a good Frenchman, Drouillard at the wind-mill, Monforton to be watched, L'Angolis, an honest man, Baby a merchant at the fort, Admer, merchant, a dangerous man, M. Gregoire, English, a thourough scoundrel, Navarre, a treacherous man, and Antonny amounts to nothing, Beaubien, a profilgate.

On the north side.

Messierus Chacehton, merchant, three fourths of a league from the fort, to whose house the proud Commandant goes now and then to take his

When he invites him to dine he would find good company there.

The distance to these posts? Who are the Captains of the Militia and their character?

On the side toward the Poux (or the north) 1st., M. Gamelin, 2nd Campeaux, 3rd., Battiste Campeaux, son, Campeau whose company has refused to march is responsible for it.

On the south side.

How many companies of militia are there at Detroit?

1st., Alexis Maisonville, a dog to hang.

2nd., M. Bondy, Bondy whose company has refused to march and who likewise is responsible for this.

The extent of the south side by and large, that is to say the distance one must traverse to go through the settlement?

On the south side five leagues are settled, four leagues below the fort, and one above.

On the north side an extent of three leagues, and one toward the Poulx.

After having traversed the southern shore can not one cross to the Isle aux Cochons to gain the north shore?

Yes, above from the east.

Where are the Americans?

It is reported that they are in the fort.

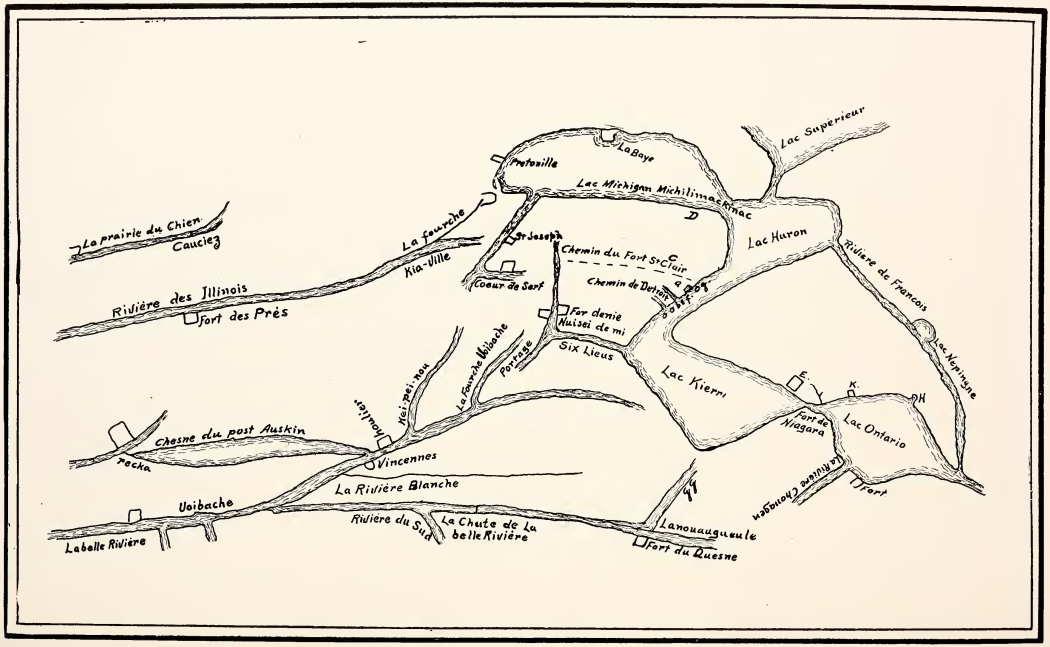
How far can one approach under cover in order to gain the fort?

What are the Nations and their number to be found around Detroit who are to be feared, or to whom can they be attached?

The Outaouis to the number of Two Hundred fifty are for us. A small village of Hurons within sight of the Fort, who are to be mistrusted, and who may be won over. It is supposed that they have gone into winter quarters.

A man, Pierre Desaulliers, interpreter for the Hurons, and Isadore Chesne, also interpreter, Tucker, English, from the Fort is the interpreter for the Outaouais and the Poux.

A.—Settlement at Detroit.
B.—Isle au dinde.
C.—Isle au Bois Blanc.
D.—Michilimackinas, whence the expedition can set out.
E.—Fort Erie, near Niagara where there is a portage.
F.—Chicago, portage where the British troops may be, falls into the little river, then into the Illinois, then into the Mississippi.
G.—The river whence one can go from Detroit to Fort Duquesne, where there is a portage from presque île of seven leagues. From the Miss one can go to the Lake six leagues across on the lake, twelve leagues from the lake to the fort of Detroit. It is called six leagues to the Detroit River.
F.—Isle au cochon Lac St Clair.
G.—Lac St Clair.
H.—Catoroconi.
J.—Niagara.
K.—The deer route, the provision post, which comes from Canada. Chonagin where one can step the passage, or where one can surprise the fort on the Isle du H.



Lac Supérieur
La Baye
Pretoville
Lac Michigan Michilimackinac
D
Lac Huron
Rivière de Francois
Lac Nepingne
La prairie du Chien
Cauciez
La fourche
Kia-Ville
St Joseph
Chemin du Fort St Clair
C
Chemin de Detroit
Coeur de Serf
Rivière des Illinois
Fort des Prés
Fort denie
Nuisei de mi
Six Lieus
Portage
La Fourche Uoibache
Kei-pei-nou
Houlier
Lac Kierri
E.
K.
H
Fort de Niagara
Lac Ontario
Chesne du post Auskin
Vincennes
La Rivière Blanche
La Rivière Chonagen
Fort
Uoibache
Rivière du Sud
La Chute de La belle Rivière
Lanouaugueule
Fort du Quesne
Labelle Rivière

THE SIEURS DE ST. ANGE.

By Walter B. Douglas.

I have undertaken to piece together the story of the lives of three men of one family all of whom were leaders among the first white inhabitants of the Illinois country.

The story takes its beginning at a time when Illinois was on the border of Canada and Louisiana, nearly two hundred years ago. It closes at a time when the Mississippi River had come to be the boundary line between the possessions of Great Britain and Spain, fifty-four years later. It relates to three men who were called by the name of St. Ange, a name which they have ineffaceably interwoven with the history of Illinois, of Missouri, of Kansas, of Mississippi and of Indiana.

The story is necessarily a short one because of the dearth of materials. The early Illinoisans did not take themselves so seriously as did the Pilgrims and Puritans of Massachusetts. It never occurred to them that they were the chosen of God for the founding of a new empire. So they left no written accounts of their doings except such as were required by official duty, and many of those still remain buried in European archives. Bits of information are to be picked up here and there, and when they are put together in like manner as a child assembles the sections of a puzzle map, there are many gaps which cannot be filled.

These men were called St. Ange probably after a district in Canada known as *la côte de St. Ange*. Names among the French at that time had not the stability that they had among the English; they seemed to be personal or territorial rather than family designations. For instance, the last Spanish governor of Upper Louisiana was a Frenchman named De Lassus; his father was called Deluziere and his brother, de St. Vrain.

The family name of the St. Anges, if they had one, was Groston. The eldest of the three is designated in some of the Canadian records as Robert Groston, sometimes Groston *dit* St. Ange, but generally de Ange. Whether the particle *de* properly indicates that the family was of the nobility, has been questioned. I know of no record of any fief or seigniory which belonged to it. But in a memoir of the King of France, Robert Groston is spoken of as the Sieur de St. Ange, and that may well justify the belief that he was not assuming a rank to which he was not entitled.[1]

[1] 17 Wisconsin Historical Collections, 155.

"A King can mak' a belted knight,
A marquis, duke and a' that,"

and for a King to call a man such, is at least persuasive evidence that he is what he is called.

Robert Groston de St. Ange appears to have been an European Frenchman, from the province of Champagne. When he came to Canada is not known. Bienville said,[1] in 1736, that he had served the King for fifty years, and from this we may infer that he was in Canada as early as 1686. He must, therefore, have come to America and entered the military service at an early age. He is said to have been a sergeant in the Company of Noyan, but that he should have held such a rank is not in accord with the known facts of his later history, and is not to be credited in absence of satisfactory evidence. He married in 1692, Marguerite Crevier. The name Crevier is upon the roll of an assembly of twenty of the principal inhabitants of Canada in 1678.[2] According to the great Genealogical Dictionary of the Abbè Tanguay,[3] Marguerite Crevier was forty-seven years old at the time of this marriage, and had been three times widowed. Eight children were born of this marriage, six sons and two daughters. Madame Marguerite died in 1708, leaving seven St. Ange children surviving, the youngest being six years old. In 1718, St. Ange married for his second wife Elizabeth Chorel de Saint Romain,[4] who was born about the year 1693. Of this marriage there was one daughter, Elizabeth.

The father; the eldest son, Pierre, who was born 17 November, 1693; the sixth son, Louis, who was born 20 February, 1702; the second wife and her daughter, became inhabitants of Illinois, and all died here excepting the two sons; the others remained in Canada.

Neither the name of Groston or of St. Ange appears in history otherwise than in connection with Robert de St. Ange and his two sons. It is a notable thing how out of the throng of human beings which exists with no more apparent historical significance than the weeds by the roadside, there springs unheralded some man—a Shakespere, or a Lincoln—who fixes the attention of the world for all time. For the St. Anges no such rank can be claimed, but they were memorable figures, well worthy of a place in the fore front of the history of the great commonwealths of the Mississippi Valley.

The connection between St. Ange and Illinois began in 1721.

Father Charlevoix, a French Jesuit, was charged by the King of France with the duty of discovering the sea of the West—the Pacific

[1] 6 Margry, Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francais Vol. 6, p. 448.

[2] Rapport de M. Edouard Richard, Supplement des Archives Canadiennes 1899, p. 67.

[3] *Dictionnaire Genealogique des Familles Canadiennes*, Par L'Abbe Tanguay, Vol. 4, p. 382, Vol. 3, p. 199. Christophe Crevier a native of Rouen, passed over to Canada and established himself at Three Rivers. His daughter Jeanne married, in 1652, Pierre Boucher, Sieur de Boucherville. His sons, taking names from concessions of land made to them, came to be known as Crevier de St. Francois, Crevier Duvernay and Crevier de Bellerive. They contracted alliances with the best families of Canada. One of the Crevier's was nephew of Hertel de Chambly. *Historie des Grandes Families du Canada*, pp. 230, 402.

In a letter from Mr. Benjamin Sulte, than whom there is no greater authority on Canadian history, he says that the name was taken from the isle of Bellerive at the embouchure of the Saint Maurice, which Island still bears the name,

It is likely that the Marguerite Crevier who became the wife of Robert Groston de St. Ange was the granddaughter of Christophe Crevier, and the daughter of his son Crevier de Bellerive, instead of the much married lady indicated by the Abbe Tanguay.

[4] The St. Romains were also a family of distinction. See *Rapport de M. Edouard Richard*, pp. 68, 97, where they are included in a list of twenty of the principal inhabitants of Canada. One of them—Gabriel St. Romain—died at St. Louis, in 1780.

Ocean.[1] He came to America in 1720, spent the winter in Canada, and in the spring of 1721, he started on his travels with two canoes, eight *voyageurs,* and such merchandise as was necessary for use in securing the good will of the natives. He journeyed in a leisurely way through the lakes, stopping for a considerable time at Mackinac, at Green Bay, at St. Joseph in Michigan, carried his boats to the Kankakee river and came down the Illinois, making a stop at Peoria, and reached Kaskaskia in October, 1721. He wrote long gossipy letters from each of his stopping places to a Duchess in France, and the volume into which these letters were gathered constitutes a store house of interesting information concerning the country and the character and methods of life of the people. In a note to a letter dated at Kaskaskia, October 20, 1721, he says:—

"M. de St Ange, who has since much distinguished himself against the Renards, commanded my escort," [2]

This is his only mention of St. Ange, in this book. Charlevoix continued his voyage to the gulf, where St. Ange no doubt accompanied him.

On May 30, 1722, St. Ange was commissioned Ensign,[3] but, like so many of the French officers in America, with only half pay. The King seemed to have the idea that money was a superfluity with his American officers. They were dignified by being called *officiers reformès,* instead of half pay officers.

It was about this time that St. Ange's wife, daughter and two sons came to Illinois. But the family was not allowed to remain long together. St. Ange and his younger son, Louis, who took from his mother the name of de Bellerive—that being the name of an island owned by her family at the mouth of the River St. Maurice in Canada—were sent on an expedition up the Missouri river.

In 1719, the Spanish of New Mexico, guided by L'Archeveque, a renegade Frenchman, who was one of the murderers of LaSalle, sent an expedition to the northeastward to block the progress of the French in their direction.[4] There are many different stories about this expedition, and its fate. The fact is, that it was destroyed by the Indians and almost every man killed; where and by what nation they were killed is not yet finally determined. The news was carried far and wide. Charlevoix met at Green Bay two Indians who had in their

[1] Rapport de M. Edouard Richard p. 530.

[2] *Letters to the Dutchess of Lesdigueres,* London, 1762, p. 289.
Writers who have mentioned St. Ange, have not distinguished between the father and the son. This confusion of persons appears in Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac, Vol. 2, p. 275; in *Le Pantheon Canadien,* 1858; under Bellerive; in Wallace's Illinois and Louisiana under French Rule, p. 361; in Mason's Chapters of Illinois History, p. 217, and in the notes to the Jesuit Relations, vol. 70, p. 317. The first printed correction of this error was made by J. P. Dunn, Jr. in his history of Indiana in the American Commonwealths series. And see also article by Mr. Dunn in publications of the Illinois State Historical Library, No. 10, on "Father Gibault, the Patriot Priest of the Northwest."

[3] Report on Canadian Archives 1904, Appendix K. p. 10.

[4] Bandelier, The Expedition of Pedro de Villazur, Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America Series V.; Margry, Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francais, Vol. 6, pp. 385-452; Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane,* Vol. 1, p. 324, Vol. 2, pp. 141-221; Dumont, *Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane,* Vol. 2, p. 74; Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages,* Vol. 1, pp. 161-178; Parkman, A Half Century of Conflict, Vol. 1, pp. 360-366.

possession articles taken from the Spaniards.[1] La Harpe heard the news on Red river; and many of the trophies were carried by the Indians to Fort Chartres.

The French, in order to forestall any further attempt by the Spaniards to establish themselves in the Missouri country, sent an expedition under Bourgmont—the same probably who was for some years commandant at Detroit—to build a fort on the Missouri river.[2]

Bourgmont's party went up the river in 1723, and erected a palisade fort with barracks for the men on the north side of the river in what is now Carroll county, Missouri, opposite to what is now called the Teetsaw (Petitsas—Petit Osage), plain, in which at that time there was a village of the Missouris and a village of the Osages. One purpose of the building of this fort, which was named Fort Orleans, was to establish peace among the neighboring tribes. Consequently, in the summer of 1724, an expedition was sent out from the fort to visit the Kansas Indians in the East and the Padoucas in the West of what is now the state of Kansas. Both the men and the officers suffered with such a plague of fever and ague that this expedition had to be given up. A few weeks later, a second attempt was made, which was successful. A portion of the expedition went by water and a portion by land. A journal was kept of the march overland, telling of each day's journey, and describing the beautiful and fertile country through which they passed. They made the journey, about one hundred miles, in four days, to a point on the river opposite the Kansas village which was situated in the neighborhood of the present city of Atchison, Kansas. After a ten days' march to the westward from the Kansas village, they reached the Paduocas, a tribe which has been variously identified as the Kiowas or the Comanches. They staid at the Padouca village for four days. Their reception was of the most friendly nature and the time of their stay was one continual powwow. Presents were exchanged, speeches were made by both parties, and the Paduocas swore eternal friendship for the French and their allies, and hatred to the Spanish. On the first journey both of the St. Anges were of the party, but on the second the elder St. Ange was left in command of Fort Orleans, and the younger went as second in command under Bourgmont. The elder St. Ange is spoken of in Bourgmont's account of his expedition as ensign, though in December, 1722, he was commissioned lieutenant with half pay. It may be that news of his promotion did not arrive at Fort Chartres until after his departure.

Bourgmont speaks of Louis St. Ange, whom he calls de St. Ange and Bellerive, indifferently, as *cadet dans les troupes*. The party reached Fort Orleans on the return from the Padoucas November 5, 1724.

The next spring Bourgmont made up a party of the neighboring Indians, including a "princess" of the Missouris, and took them for a

[1] *Letters to the Dutchess of Lesdiguieres*, p. 204.

[2] Margy, *Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francais*, p. 387ff; Le Page du Pratz. *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Vol. 2, 141-221; Parkman, A Half Century of Conflict, Vol. 1, pp. 360-366. See, for sketch of Bourgmont, Heinrich's *Louisiane Sous la Compagne des Indes*, p. 127., *N.*

visit to the King of France.[1] The elder St. Ange was left in command of the fort. A couple of years later we find him again in service in Illinois. The old records show that in 1729, he bought a house in the prairie near Fort Chartres. And in 1730, he was appointed to the command of the fort,[2] succeeding De Liette, a nephew of Henri de Tonty. Fort Chartres was not at that time the magnificent stone fortress that it became in later years. It was only a little palisade fort, but its commander was the chief officer of an extent of country greater than that of most of the great empires of the world. It was St. Ange's fortune in the first year of his incumbency to conquer in battle the great enemy of his country. In their dealings with the Indians, the French methods were very different from the English. The English crowded against the Indians until a conflict was inevitable and then crushed them. The French lived among them, intermarried with them and treated them with something of the consideration to which a common humanity entitled them. The French wars with the Indians were few. But from the beginning, there was a radical antagonism between the nation of the Renards or Foxes and the French. The Fox Indians were the aristocrats of the northwest. They have some of the great qualities of the Jewish race. They are a distinct people to this day. This is not the time to talk of the history of the Foxes, but I want to speak of one thing. Many years later than the time which we are considering, the Foxes were driven by the power of the United States from their country east of the Mississippi to a new and strange land beyond the Missouri. They were all unhappy, and their women began to starve themselves to death. A council was held and it was determined to return to the eastward. In Iowa they succeeded in inducing the then Governor to hold for them, as their trustee, land bought with their money. The United States government denied them their annuities and there was another starving time, but at last they overcame all opposition and have for many years lived their own lives on their own ground.[3] The war between the French and the Foxes had been going on for many years when St. Ange undertook the command in Illinois.

The Foxes were implacable enemies; and though they were much weakened by massacres of their people, men, women and children suffered together; they never failed to strike the French or their Indian allies when opportunity offered. The French government had determined that nothing but their extermination would bring a peace. Early in 1730 it was reported that they had resolved to abandon their country and go eastward to join the Iroquois who were friends of the English. St. Ange was urged to attack them but his militia were unwilling. Finally a deputation of Cahokia Indians visited St. Ange at Fort Chartres and reported that the Foxes had captured some of their people

[1] Dumont, *Memoires Historiques* Vol. 2, p. 75; *Mercure de France*, December, 1725, (copy in library of Missouri Historical Society, Gift of Edward A. K. Killian, Esq.) Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages*, Vol. 1. p. 161.

[2] See articles on "Meskwakia," and "The Meskwakia People of To-Day" in 4 Iowa Journal of History and Politics, pp. 179, 190; See also "Lost Maramech and Earliest Chicago" by John F. Steward. And see also The Folk Lore of the Musquakies, by Mary Alicia Owen.

[3] Mason, Chapters of Illinois History, p. 220; Illinois in the Eighteenth Century (Chicago Historical Society Papers) p. 28.

[4] 17 Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, p. 110. Letter from Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister.

near the Rock (afterwards Starved Rock) on the Illinois river and had burned the son of their principal chief. The demands of the allies could not be resisted, and on August 10, 1730, St. Ange marched out from Fort Chartres with about one hundred soldiers and militia men. They marched to the northeastward, reinforced by various bodies of Indian allies on their way, until the army consisted of about five hundred men.

They found the Foxes in what is now La Salle county. They had built a fort in a small grove of trees on the bank of a little river (now Covell Creek) which then ran through a prairie, about four leagues in circumference, without a tree except two groves about sixty arpents from one another.[1] The fort was built on a gentle slope in such a manner that it was exposed to fire from the higher ground. St. Ange posted his men in such a way as to command the fort and also the access to the river, intending to cut off the Indians from the water, but the Foxes emulated their namesakes and burrowed in the ground so that they were hidden from the view of the enemy, and they tunnelled to the river, so that their supply of water was abundant. St. Ange was joined by De Villiers from St. Joseph with fifty or sixty French and five hundred Indians, and by De Noyelle from the post of the Miamis with ten Frenchmen and two hundred Indians, making the attacking army to consist of about fourteen hundred men. Among this number, however, were a detachment of Saukees who were at heart the well-wishers of the Foxes and some three hundred Cahokias who could not be trusted and who finally deserted. The Foxes made sorties both by day and by night; they parleyed with the French and with the Indians. St. Ange was disposed to make terms with them, but some of his Indian allies would not hear to it and an order came from the Governor in Canada forbidding it. The Foxes held out for twenty-three days. Their food was exhausted and they lived on the skins which constituted their garments and their quivers and gun cases. The French were not in a much better condition. Though their hunters brought in such game as could be found; game soon became scarce and the Indians began to fall away.

The eighth of September was a beautiful day, the skies were blue, the air was soft and all nature seemed at its best, but about an hour before sunset black clouds arose and brought a terrible storm of wind and rain which lasted until nightfall, and the night was very dark and foggy. St. Ange set special guards, but favored by the darkness the Indians evaded them, and evacuated their fort. Their movements were betrayed, however, by the crying of the children, who being aroused from their sleep could not be quieted. The French and their allies were on the *qui vive* and at daybreak set out in pursuit of the fugitives. The

[1] That the exact site of the Fox fort will ever be discovered is unlikely. Mr. John F. Steward, who has given much careful study to the subject, is of the opinion that it was on the north side of the Illinois river at Maramech hill in Kendall county. The authority for the location suggested is a letter from Hocquart to the French Minister of date 15 January, 1731. In that letter it is said, "I have no doubt, Monseigneur, that you have learned by way of the Mississippi of the defeat of the Renard savages that happened on September 9th last, in a Plain situated between the River Wabache and the River of the illinois, About 60 Leagues to the South of The Extremity or foot of Lake Michigan to the East South East of *le Rocher* in the Illinois country." 17 Wisconsin Historical Collections, p. 129. For statements of Mr. Steward's views see "Lost Maramech and Earliest Chicago," and Publication of The Illinois State Historical Library, No. 13, p. 251.

women, children and the old men were leading in the flight and the warriors had posted themselves in the rear to protect them. An immediate onset was made which was bravely opposed by the Foxes, but weakened as they were by long fighting and fasting they were soon scattered, and an indiscriminate massacre began; more than two hundred warriors were killed and many wounded and made prisoners. The women and children were nearly all destroyed. Not more than fifty or sixty men escaped and they were without weapons or means of procuring subsistence.[1]

The Foxes never again made head against the French, but they were followed by them with persistent hate, their villages were surprised and their people massacred until it seemed as if they were wholly exterminated. Yet in the course of about forty years they had so recuperated that they were able to wreak a bloody vengeance upon the Indians of Southern Illinois, and to enact near the scene of their ruinous defeat the tragedy of the Starved Rock.

St. Ange governed the Illinois country for four years, uneventful years they appear to have been after the battle with the Foxes, for no record of them has been found. They were years in which the colony was taking firm root in the land, and growing in numbers and in strength, while their traders and *voyageurs* were searching out the country even to the greater northwest of the upper Missouri. St. Ange retired from the command in 1734, and was succeeded by Pierre D'Artaguette,[2] who sprang from an ancient family of the Province of Bearn, of which it is said that "the family has always been large, and never wealthy, on account of the great number of their children." [3]

In April, 1738, Saint Ange received his commission as Captain, with half pay. He had then served the King for fifty-two years. It was a service crowded with difficulties and dangers and hardships. He received the highest honor that the service afforded—the command of the country, but otherwise it would seem that his only reward was the consciousness that he had done his work well.

The church records of the parish of St. Anne de Fort Chartres are missing for the time between the 30th July, 1726 and the 19 October 1743. In the extant records, under date 30 November, 1743, there is the entry of the baptism of two children born of slave parents, the property of Madame St. Ange, and she is described as the widow of the late Monsieur de St Ange, *Capitaine.*

The daughter Elizabeth was married, probably in the year 1739, to the Chevalier Francois Coulon de Villiers, of a Canadian family of great distinction. One of his brothers was Jumonville who was killed by a party of Virginia militiamen under the command of Washington, and another brother was Louis Coulon de Villiers, usually called *Le Grand Villiers,* who took Washington prisoner at Fort Necessity July

[1] The original sources of information concerning this affair are to be found in 17 Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, pp. 109-130.

[2] In 1732, the friends of d'Artaguette were urging his appointment to the place held by St. Ange. "He will make more progress there," they said, "than Sieur de St. Ange, the father, who commands there, and whom the Indians find too old." 3 Indiana Historical Publications, p. 299.

[3] Manuscript sketch of the d'Artaguette family in the library of Missouri Historical Society.

3, 1754. Elizabeth St Ange de Villiers died at Fort Chartres, March 6, 1755, leaving several children, and some of her descendants are still living in Missouri and Louisiana.[1]

Madame St Ange, the widow of Robert Groston de St Ange, died suddenly at Fort Chartres February 23, 1762, aged about seventy-nine years.

Of the life of Pierre de St Ange little is known. His place in history is fixed by his death rather than by his life. He was a soldier in Illinois as early as 1722, he was commissioned as ensign December 19th of that year. It is recorded that a party of which he was in command was attacked by the Indians in 1724 and one of his soldiers was killed.[2] Then for a period of twelve years nothing is to be found concerning him, except the record of his presence at a wedding in Kaskaskia 1727.

In the south the French became involved in a war with the Chickasaws, and a great expedition was planned which should attack them in their own country and put it out of their power to make further trouble. Bienville was to march with an army from New Orleans, and the colonies in Arkansas, Illinois, and on the Wabash were to furnish their quotas. A place of meeting was appointed and an attack was to be made in force. On February 20, 1736, the northern contingent set out from Fort Chartres, under the commandant Pierre D'Artaguette. He had under him many distinguished officers, among them Pierre de St Ange, who appears to have been second in command, and Vincennes, the commandant of the post on the Wabash. There were forty-one regular soldiers and ninety-nine militiamen. In addition there were thirty-eight Iroquois, thirty-eight Arkansas Indians and about two hundred Illinois and Miamis. They went down the river to the neighborhood of Memphis and from there marched southeastward to the Chickasaw village in what is now Lee County, Mississippi. Bienville had been detained, and had written D'Artaguette to wait for him, but the Indians forced the fighting. D'Artaguette attacked them with great vigor, and a desperate battle was fought. Early in the action the Illinois and Miami Indians had run away. The Iroquois and Arkansas remained loyal and it was only by their aid that any of the attacking party escaped alive. D'Artaguette received three severe wounds but continued to fight, leaning against a tree, until another shot stretched him upon the earth. St Ange took command and continued the fight until they were overwhelmed by numbers. The Chickasaws had five or six hundred fighting men and were aided by about twenty English. Nearly one hundred of the French were killed, twenty escaped and twenty-two were captured. Among the prisoners were D'Artaguette, St. Ange, Vincennes, Dutisné, a Jesuit, Father Senat, and several other officers. Seventeen of the captives, including all of those named, were burned by the Chickasaws on the day of the fight. They were tied to stakes at about three o'clock in the afternoon; slow fires were built around them and the torture continued until midnight. An Indian woman carried

[1] *Notes sur la Famille Coulon de Villiers*, Par l'Abbe Amedee Gosselin, Levis, 1906.
[2] 16 Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, p. 454.

to New Orleans the story of their death. They faced their enemies to the last, and, in the midst of the flames, they "sang as is the fashion among the Indians, who thereby judge of the valor of men." [1]

Louis de St Ange was at this time in command of a post on the Missouri. Fort Orleans had been destroyed by the Indians some time before and another fort had been built near the mouth of the Kaw or Kansas river, and it was there that St Ange was stationed. His father wrote to Bienville asking that he might be given the position left vacant by the death of Vincennes.[2] The request was granted and Louis de St Ange was in July, 1736, transferred from the Missouri to the Wabash. He remained in command of the post which is now the City of Vincennes for twenty-eight years.[3] The white population was small and he was the beneficent *pater familias* of the village. He advised them in their troubles, adjudged their controversies, danced at their merry makings, and signed the church register of their births and marriages. Though his village was small the field of his activity was widely extended. His correspondence shows that he kept in touch with the movements among the Indians from the Hudson river to the Mississippi; no continental diplomat ever had such burdens put upon him as fell to the lot of St Ange. But the intricacies of the Indian character were to him as an open book and there was no serious trouble with the natives in his territory in all the period of his command at Vincennes.

It was during this time that the British Americans were crowding into the Ohio valley and that the final contest for its ownership took place.[4] We do not know the details of St. Ange's actions, but we do know that he was actively engaged in military service against the British. It is frequently stated that he was at Braddock's defeat, but there is no evidence that such was the case.

When the war was over, and the French flag had gone down in defeat, the final act of surrender was left to St Ange. Neyon de Villiers who was in command at Fort Chartres was ordered to New Orleans and St Ange was put in his place. Neyon de Villiers is generally spoken of as the brother-in-law of St Ange. He was not such. He was not even of the same family as François Coulon de Villiers who married Elizabeth St Ange.[5]

St Ange's incumbency at Fort Chartres was full of difficulties. The Indians were excited and aroused, and determined that the British should not take possession of the country which they considered to be theirs. The British had great difficulty in getting troops to Fort Chartres. Finally one officer, Lieutenant Ross, reached there. A council

[1] Report Concerning Canadian Archives for the Year 1905, Vol. 1, pp. 457, 458.
[2] Margry, *Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francais*, Vol. 6 p. 448 note.
[3] Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. 2 p. 27.
[4] See Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, Vol. 1, p. 87.
[5] For a sketch of the life of Neyon de Villers, see De Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernieres Annees de la Louisiane Francaise*, p. 190.

was held made up mainly of Indians from the West side of the Mississippi; Missouris and Osages. One of the chiefs addressed Ross as follows:

"Go! and leave us with our French father. It is he who opened the eyes of our ancestors and has made us live. Adieu! Go away, and think no more of returning hither, because our warriors who are giddy brained might throw you in the water if you try to return. Tell your chief to remain on his lands as we will on ours."[1]

The great Pontiac came, raging like a demon. He cajoled and threatened. He appealed to St Ange on the basis of their ancient friendship, recalling all the campaigns that they had made together against the misguided Indians and those dogs of English, and offering to himself drive back the English, if St Ange would but give his consent.

To the Illinois Indians he said: "If you hesitate one moment I will destroy you like a fire which passes through a prairie."[2]

But St Ange was firm and faithfully endeavored to obtain for the British the peaceful possession of the country. He remained at Fort Chartres about fifteen months before he was relieved. Finally on the ninth day of October, 1765, Captain Thomas Sterling with a detachment of the famous Black Watch, a regiment still existing and having a more notable career than any military organization known in history, reached Fort Chartres, and on the next day the French flag disappeared forever from Illinois. Some weeks later St Ange with his handful of soldiers moved across the river to St Louis.[3]

A good part of the white residents of Illinois went with him or had preceded him. The secret treaty which had transferred the west bank of the river, known until 1796 as the western part of the Illinois, from France to Spain had been made known in October 1764, but it was the duty of France, and so recognized by the French government, to govern the country in the customary way, until Spain came to take possession.[4] And the jurisdiction which St Ange had possessed over that territory was unimpaired by the transfer of the east bank to the British. A curious fiction set on foot by some imaginative writer has often been repeated and accepted as true.

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[1] Report Concerning Canadian Archives for the Year 1905, Vol. 1, p. 473.

[2] Colonel Auguste Chouteau, *Narrative of the Founding of St. Louis*, p. 8.

[3] Captain Stirling wrote, on 15 December, 1765, to General Gage as follows—

"Mons. St. Ange withdrew on the 23d with all the French troops in this country to a village called St. Louis on the Spanish side, opposite to Caho [Cahokia], having orders to that purpose from Monsr. Aubry, he had no soldiers in any of the Posts except this, a reduced Officer [de Belestre] acted as Commandant at Cascaskias, and another at Caho [de Volsay], they both left this side likewise." 12 Publications of Illinois State Historical Library, p. 216.

Aubry wrote, 27 January, 1766, of the surrender of Fort Chartres, and said—

"Apres avoir proteste, M. de Saint Ange est passe sur l'autre bord avec deux officiers et ses trente-cinq hommes. Il s'est etabli a Paincourt [St. Louis], pres de Sainte Genevieve, et m'a renoye quinze hommes par suite de peu de farine que les anglais lui ont laisse." De Villiers du Terrage, Les Dernieres Annees de la Louisiane Francaise, p. 223.

[4] "With respect to the cession of places or territories by a treaty of peace, though the treaty operates from the making of it, it is a principle of public law that the national character of the place agreed to be surrendered by treaty continues as it was under the character of the ceding country, until it be actually transferred. Full sovereignty cannot be held to have passed by the mere words of the treaty without actual delivery. To complete the right of property, the right to the thing and the possession of the thing must be united." 1 Kent's Commentaries p. 177.

The people of St. Louis, it is said, recognizing St. Ange's great abilities and fitness for rule voluntarily chose him for their governor and installed him in office.

Such a thing was of course impossible, and such action was wholly foreign to the ideas of those people. They were not accustomed to be consulted about their governors, and did not bother their heads about such matters.

Another story equally unfounded is told by Governor Reynolds in his History.[1]

He says that when Captain Stirling died a few months after Fort Chartres had been surrendered to him by St Ange, leaving the fort and the country without a ruler, St Ange returned, took command, and held the reins of government until a British officer was sent to relieve him.

How such a story originated it is impossible to imagine. Aside from its intrinsic impossibility, the fact is that Captain Stirling did not die a few months after taking possession of Fort Chartres. He subsequently had a distinguished military career in Europe, reached the grade of General, and departed this life in the year 1808.

The Spanish were in no hurry to take possession of their new domain. St. Ange was continued in the government, and when the Spanish Captain Rui was sent in 1767, to build two forts on the Missouri river near its mouth, he was instructed that, "upon the arrival of the expedition at Illinois, every thing that had been outlined will be carried out and the French commander for that place, Mr. St. Ange, will arrange for everything with the experience he has had." It was not until 1770, that Don Pedro Piernas came with a commission as governor, and relieved St. Ange, who then took service in the Spanish army with the rank of captain, but with the inevitable half pay. He was then about sixty-eight years old, he remained at St. Louis and was depended upon by Piernas as a wise counsellor,[2] and by the people as their friend and intercessor. He died December 26, 1774,[3] at the house of Madame Chouteau, one of the principal inhabitants of the village. He made his will on the day of his death.[4] He provided

[1] John Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois*, Fergus Edition, p. 80.

[2] "The lieutenant governor shall preserve the best of relations with Monsieur de St. Ange, whose practical knowledge of the Indians will be very useful to him. He shall do whatever he can to gain his friendship and confidence, and shall listen to his opinion attentively on all matters, and shall defer to him so far as possible without prejudice to the service." O'Reilly's Instructions to Piernas 17 Feby 1770, 1 Houck's Spanish Regime in Missouri p. 83.

When Piernas was at St. Louis in 1769, he came into conflict with St. Ange regarding some debts which has been contracted by the Spanish storekeeper at the fort on the Missouri river, to enforce the payment of which it was proposed by the French officials "to lay an embargo on the effects of the King." Piernas threatened St. Ange, but he paid the debt. In his report to O'Reilly, Piernas speaks "of the good for nothing Monsieur St. Ange," and "the good intentions of his respectable old age." The weight placed by O'Reilly upon Piernas' statements may be inferred from the instructions above quoted. After the return of Piernas to St. Louis he and St. Ange appear to have been the best of friends. The report of Piernas to O'Reilly is printed in 1 Houck's Spanish Regime in Missouri, page 66.

[3] In the Register of the old Cathedral of St. Louis is the following entry—

"L'an 1774, le 27 xbre, je soussigne ai inhumee dans ce cimetiere de cette paroisse le corps de Messire louis de Ste Ange, Capitaine a la Suitte du bataillon de la louisiane, administre des sacremens de l'eglise fr Valentin."

[4] A translation of St Ange's will, containing some inaccuracies, however, is printed in Billon Annals of St. Louis 1764-1804, p. 125. Three introductory lines are so printed as to appear to be a part of the will. The original has no such caption.

for the payment of his debts and the collection of the debts due to him, for the freedom of his slaves, and distributed his estate among the children of his sister Elizabeth. In his will, he declared that he had never contracted any marriage up to that time.

He was buried in the churchyard of the village on what is now Second street. I am indebted to Mr. Pierre Chouteau for an interesting story as to the disposition of his remains. The growth of the town induced the abandonment of the ancient burying ground and the removal of the bodies to a new cemetery at Franklin and Jefferson avenues. After a few years the town crowded upon this place and another change was made to the present Calvary cemetery. Mr. Chouteau says that when this second change was made, his father was absent from home and the duty of supervising the removal of the bodies in the Chouteau vault was cast upon his mother. She identified the remains of all but one person; there was one coffin in excess of the number called for in the family records. When Madame Chouteau returned home from her errand to the cemetery, she told her father-in-law, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., who was then blind, of what had happened and asked him whose was the unidentified coffin. He exclaimed with surprise that it was a remarkable coincidence. That when the first removal was made from the original burying ground, his father was absent and his mother had attended to the removals; that she had been puzzled at the unidentified remains, and that he remembered that when his father came home, he explained that the unmarked coffin was that of Monsieur St. Ange de Bellerive.

So his remains now rest, it is to be hoped forever, upon a hill overlooking the turbid stream of the Mississippi with which he was so familiar in his life time, and than which no place could be more fitting.

One street in St. Louis bears the name of St. Ange, and one village in Illinois, that of Bellerive.

He has no other monument. But in time to come, it is not to be doubted but that in the City of St. Louis a fitting statute will be erected to preserve the memory of his virtues.

From what we know of his life and from tradition, we are justified in believing that he was a good man, kindly, loyal, faithful to his duties, and capable in their performance; that he was wise in council and brave in action.

As a Missourian, it is to me the source of much pleasure to be able to pay to the memory of our first governor who lived amongst us, and to that of his father and brother, this slight tribute of respect.

THE WORK OF EDWARD EVERETT OF QUINCY IN THE QUARTER-MASTER'S DEPARTMENT IN ILLINOIS DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF THE CIVIL WAR.

By Cora Agnes Benneson.

In No. 10 of the publications of the Illinois State Historical Society, pages 230-236, may be found Edward Everett's account of the operations of the Quarter-master's Department of the State of Illinois during 1861-'62, but since no man can speak unreservedly of his own work, especially one of Mr. Everett's modest temperament, a supplementary account gathered from materials I have found while settling his estate may further elucidate the subject to which he has called attention.

In the confusion incident to the outbreak of the Civil War, when more volunteers were pouring into Springfield than were needed for the six regiments President Lincoln called upon Illinois to furnish, the Quarter-master General, John Wood, found himself in great perplexity. No provision had yet been made for the food, shelter or equipment of the soldiers and no system of accounting had been established for the supplies voted by the State and donated by individuals. John Wood, although upright and honorable in all his dealings, was not systematic and the fact that he was left-handed, led him to avoid writing. He mentioned his difficulties to an old friend in Quincy, my father, Robert S. Benneson, who said to him: "Edward Everett is the man you need." Certainly no one could have been found better qualified to assist him. Mr. Everett had served for over two years as clerk in the Quarter-master's Department at San Antonio, Texas, during and after the Mexican War and, in addition to this experience, had exceptional ability and insight, was painstaking and accurate.

A brief description of the characteristics and circumstances of these two men, John Wood and Edward Everett, may help to a correct understanding of the relations that arose between them.

John Wood, born in Moravia, Cayuga county, New York, December 20, 1798, the son of a surgeon, who was also a captain during the Revolutionary war, in 1822, built a cabin on the present site of Quincy, where he lived alone for some months. In 1824, when the question was to be determined whether Illinois should be a free or a slave state, he canvassed the greater part of the military district from Fulton and Hancock counties south and was rewarded by having ninety-nine votes for the freedom ticket out of one hundred three cast, at a meeting held in Pike county by the assembled voters of the Bounty Lands. He secured amidst considerable opposition a separate organization for

Adams county, which previously had been a part of Pike county, and had Quincy made the county seat while it numbered only six residents. He saw the town grow up around him and felt a paternal interest in all that concerned it. When the children in one of its mission Sunday schools were asked, "Who was the first man?" they replied, without hesitation, "John Wood." Although he was very dignified, no child was ever afraid of him. His cordial face, glowing with health and framed by snowy hair and flowing beard, forms one of the earliest pictures in my memory. He was a town trustee, and, after Quincy became a city, often a member of the council and mayor. In 1832 he volunteered in the Black Hawk war. In 1852 he was elected to the State Senate and in 1856 was made Lieutenant-Governor. When presiding over the Senate, he was "The type of an old Roman senator," said his legislative associates. After the death of Governor Bissell in 1860, John Wood filled the chief executive office for the remainder of the term satisfactorily. The qualities that made him a successful and fearless pioneer, rendered indoor life irksome to him and caused him to be venturesome in business. In his position as Quarter-master it was fortunate that he had for his assistant one whom he knew he could implicity trust to keep his accounts, whether he was present or absent, with the exactness essential to the success of his department.

Edward Everett came from a distinguished family. He was born of American parents in England, March 31st, 1818. When an infant he was baptized in London by his father's cousin, the statesman, Hon. Edward Everett, then on his way to Greece and Rome in preparation for his professorship at Harvard college, who gave him his own name. In 1840, Charles Everett, the father of Edward, left London, where for twenty-four years he had been buying and shipping goods to the United States and China, and with his wife and six children, settled in Quincy, Illinois. There he built a roomy mansion, which became a centre of hospitality. The three sons, Charles, Edward, and Samuel, all served their country in times of war. They were among the Quincy Riflemen who quelled the Mormon troubles in Hancock county in 1844-'46. Charles went to the Mexican war as sergeant major of the Fourth Illinois, later was appointed Adjutant and virtually commanded the regiment after that time, being with it throughout its term of service and present at the siege of Vera Cruz and the battle of Cerro Gordo. Upon the breaking out of the Civil war, he formed a company in the District of Columbia to defend the Capitol and, later, in command of a battery of light artillery, joined the expedition under General Butler for the attack on New Orleans. At Port Hudson, May 21, 1863, he was severely wounded in the leg. On his recovery, he accompanied General Banks on the Red River expedition in command of cavalry. At the close of the war, he was honorably discharged with the rank of Brigadier-General.

Samuel Everett, the youngest of the three brothers, became a skillful surgeon. During the Mexican war he joined his brother, Edward, in Texas, was given charge of the medical supplies and was frequently called upon to attend the sick in distant Ranger camps. In the Civil

war he was appointed Surgeon of the Tenth Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, commanded by General Prentiss, and was later promoted to Brigade-Surgeon. At the battle of Shiloh, April 6, 1862, he saw a body of soldiers retreating, rallied them, led them back into the thick of the fight and fell from his horse mortally wounded. His loss was keenly felt throughout the West.

Edward continued with the Quincy Riflemen as one of the sergeants when they were mustered into the service of the United States at Alton, June 18, 1846, for the Mexican war, as Company A, First Illinois Volunteers under Colonel J. J. Hardin. At San Antonio de Bexar in Texas, where they were ordered to guard the stores and suppress disturbances, on September 11, 1846, Edward Everett was shot by a desperado whom he was attempting to arrest, and received a wound just above the knee that lamed him for life. After being thus disabled for active service, he was taken in his cot to the office of Captain J. H. Ralston, a newly appointed Assistant Quarter-master, where his services proved so valuable that after recovery, he was made chief clerk and forwarded supplies from San Antonio to General Wool's army in the field and to the troops guarding the northwestern frontier of Texas. In December, 1848, he accompanied Captain Ralston to Washington for the final settlement of their accounts. The knowledge thus gained in Texas and Washington proved of inestimable value to him in his new position in Springfield thirteen years later.

As John Wood and Edward Everett, beside several appointees engaged by the Quarter-master as clerks, agents, etc., were from Quincy, it was deemed advisable to avoid sectional jealousy by giving the position of First Assistant to a Chicago man who was stationed at Cairo. He proved, however, inefficient and the entire control of the department under John Wood fell upon Edward Everett, who was Second Assistant.

While the Volunteers were arriving rapidly at the State fair grounds, about two miles from Springfield, many of them poorly clad and all needing camp outfits, General McClellan telegraphed to the office of the Adjutant-General of the State as follows:

CINCINNATI, May 31, 1861.

COL. J. B. WYMAN: I would suggest that the State Quarter-master General should proceed to uniform and equip the Illinois troops with the least possible delay.

G. B. MCCLELLAN,
Major-General.

Before the Legislature could be called together to appropriate funds for the extraordinary expenditures demanded by the occasion, considerable money was voluntarily loaned the State by banking institutions for the immediate purchase of supplies.

Edward Everett at once ordered blanks printed in proper form for filling out as vouchers for payment for purchases, services, etc., and for requisitions and receipts for articles to be issued. He rented offices and warehouses, engaged clerks and storekeepers, and gradually introduced system by assigning specific duties to subordinates and instructing them therein.

The duties of a Quarter-master's Department ordinarily consist in the purchase and supply of tents, camp equippage, tools, means of transportation, clothing, forage, fuel, etc., etc., in short, everything needed by an army except subsistence, medicines, and ordnance. In Springfield there was no ordnance officer, hence also the work of supplying arms and ammunition fell upon the Quarter-master.

Mr. Everett printed a list of the articles the soldiers were entitled to draw from the Quarter-master's department and sent copies to the different companies, which they found of much use. That their value was also appreciated in other states appears in a letter written to Mr. Everett from Jefferson, Indiana, September 17, 1861, by Major W. H. Sidell, then in a Kentucky regiment. He wrote as follows:

"General W. T. Sherman (regular army) showed me an excellent document, signed by yourself, for the convenience of Illinois volunteers, exhibiting the necessary outfit and equipment of companies and regiments of the several arms, with some instructions of a general nature, the document dated Springfield, 22d August, 1861. General Sherman gave me permission to copy the paper, but I would like to get at least a dozen of the printed papers and I will take it as a great favor if you will send them to me."

Governor Yates was freely consulted in regard to the quantities and kind of clothing purchased and with his approval and under his instruction a superior quality was bought. He considered the best not too good for the volunteers. Generals McClellan, Hunter and Sherman, when in Springfield, inspected the goods in store and expressed their unqualified approval of the articles and of the way in which they were distributed. Indeed, many of the things thus furnished were superior to those provided by the United States Government and often regiments in distant fields of service sent back for the Illinois supplies.

The Illinois Legislature, foreseeing the need of more troops, authorized the formation of ten additional regiments of infantry, one of cavalry and a battalion of artillery to be in readiness for a second call. As they were ordered to encamp at ten different points, their locations added to those of the regiments already enlisted, made fourteen places to be supplied by the Quarter-master's department. Mr. Everett hired special agents to distribute these supplies and he testified with appreciation to the integrity with which they performed their duties.

Agents were also sent out to collect what arms could be found belonging to the State that had been issued to amateur soldiers and to those called out to suppress disturbances in past times. These arms were old fashioned muskets, rifles, pistols with flint locks, sabres and some pieces of field artillery. Workshops had to be established to put them in order and to make cartridges. The Quarter-master's department also had to take charge of the arms received from the United States and of those purchased by commissioners appointed by the State. In volume 10 of the Illinois State Historical publications, Mr. Everett has given a graphic account of the way in which Captain James H. Stokes of Chicago, aided by a few others, captured twenty-one thousand stand of new Enfield rifles and other valuable ammunition at

Jefferson Brracks, Missouri, just when the enemy was about to seize them, and conveyed them to Alton by the steamer City of Alton on the Mississippi river, thence by train to Springfield, in time to arm the Union soldiers for the defense of the important post at Cairo, Illinois, commanding the Mississippi, Ohio, Tennessee and Cumberland rivers.

On December 10th, 1861, the Adjutant-General issued a report, showing that up to that date Illinois had furnished for the Civil war 60,540 soldiers. Of these, at least three-fourths were clothed and equipped by the Quarter-master's department at Springfield. Its aggregate amount of purchases was $3,714,122.38, spent as follows:

Tents	$ 141,247.10
Camp equipage	45,294.89
Clothing	2,727,849.77
Equipments	115,745.73
Accoutrements	68,550.40
Books, blanks and stationery	11,678.03
Horse equipments	400,763.94
Sundries for cavalry	15,518.12
Medicines and hospital stores	47,465.67
Lumber and hardware	21,803.71
Camp and office furniture	7,257.45
Ordnance purchases, etc	67,419.42
Mules, wagons and harness	2,371.00
Fuel	14,658.62
Bedding	5,058.54
Forage	21,439.94

These statistics are taken from a printed report signed by John Wood and Edward Everett in reply to resolutions of enquiry of the Constitutional Convention of Illinois, Feb. 10, 1862, a copy of which I have the pleasure of placing on file with the Illinois State Historical Society.

In transacting this immense business Edward Everett divided the duties and made each employé personally responsible. For instance, when goods were delivered by a contractor to the storekeeper the latter was required to certify on the bills to the correctness of the count and that the articles were equal in quality to the samples provided when the contracts were made. The chief clerk then made out the bills in proper form, comparing them with the contract and seeing to their correctness in all particulars. They were later handed to Mr. Everett for supervision and signature to the certificate. A similar system was used with regard to bills for services, expenses, etc., and with all requisitions made upon the department; agents placed in positions of trust were made rigidly to account for what had been placed in their hands. All vouchers were prepared in accordance with army regulations with a view to making up a full set of accounts, both financial and property returns, the latter showing whether articles were received by purchase or otherwise and whether they were severally issued, disposed of or lost.

The auditing committee of three appointed by the Governor to audit all state bills pertaining to the war annoyed Mr. Everett by consolidating the certified bills of the quarter-master's department with other bills due to the same parties and gave warrants on the treasurer for their payment, a process that destroyed the identity of his vouchers and their correspondence with his property accounts.

In the spring of 1862 when the quarter-master's department at Springfield was relieved of its duties by officers commissioned by the United States, John Wood left Edward Everett to finish the work of the department. As the task was likely to be tedious and his personal presence was no longer required in Springfield he asked permission to take the work to Quincy in the following letter to ex-Governor Wood:

"Feb. 21, '62.

COL. JOHN WOOD, Q. M. GEN'L,

DEAR SIR—Your sudden departure without any notice or intimation of your intention to me, has prevented me from consulting with you as I had intended with respect to the manner in which the business of our Department is to be closed up and its accounts settled. There are also many points which require your decision and instructions.

* * * * * * *

It will not be convenient for me, in respect to the condition of my private affairs, to remain many weeks longer in Springfield. And as the greater part of the business yet to be transacted consists in making up the property returns for presentation to the State and General Government, it can be done elsewhere as well as here. I therefore propose with your permission to return to Quincy as soon as matters here can be got into the necessary state of preparation and (provided my services for completing this business are considered essential) with the assistance of one or two of the clerks, to proceed to make up the property returns, etc., with as much dispatch as possible, together with a full and comprehensive report of the proceedings of the Department.

It may be necessary that some one should remain here for a short time longer to complete the outstanding business, but this need not interfere with the arrangement spoken of.

Please reply at your earliest convenience unless you intend to return shortly.

Yours respectfully,
Your Obt. Servt.
EDWARD EVERETT,
Ass't. Q. M. Gen'l."

The reply to this letter is dated at Cairo, March 4, 1862:

"*Major E. Everett*:

DEAR SIR—Your two letters of February 21st handed me today. With regard to the disposition of Q. M. Stores. . . . . you will consult with Gov. Yates. It is my understanding, however, that everything we have is to be received and receipted for without reserve or discrimination. . . . . You will take such action as if you were in my place, which in fact you are in my absence. You are chief in the office and all are required to report to you. This is to you authority for doing so if you desire anything of the kind. . . . .

I should much prefer that the entire work of closing up our affairs be carried on and completed at Springfield, and I hope you will so arrange your own matters as to be able to remain there and give it your superintendence to the end.

If with this you cannot get along without me, telegraph me and I will return as soon as possible. I have an invitation from Gen'l Grant to accompany him South and have promised to go some way yet with him. I desire much to go to Memphis and shall do so unless it is absolutely necessary to return.

The flag of the Union was raised over all that remains of Columbus today. I was the first to set foot on the sacred soil of Memphis from the Federal Army, hunted up our wounded and found 74, the names of whom, with that of the regiments to which they belonged, I have forwarded to Gov. Yates.

The people were glad to see us in Nashville, not from any love for us, but because their own soldiers were plundering them. The talk about the strong Union feeling is all bosh.

Our steamboat burst after our arrival.

JOHN WOOD,
Q. M. Gen'l Ill."

Soon after this letter arrived in Springfield and when Edward Everett with the advice of Governor Yates was about telegraphing the Quarter-master General to return, a dispatch was received announcing his departure for Tennessee. As he did not consent to the removal of the papers from Springfield and remaining from home longer would subject Mr. Everett to much inconvenience, he resigned his position and returned to Quincy. Still retaining his position as Quarter-master General of the State, in 1864, ex-Governor Wood took command as colonel of the 137th Regiment of Illinois infantry with which he served until the period of enlistment expired.

It was a disappointment to Mr. Everett that the final settlement with the United States Government was made by others when he was so well prepared to give full returns for the vast amount of property that had passed through his hands. The success of the Quarter-master's Department at Springfield, of which Illinois has just reason to be proud, was undoubtedly due during the first year of the Civil War to his vigilance, wisdom and hard work.[1]

[1]Based upon manuscript papers of Edward Everett.

DETROIT THE KEY TO THE WEST DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

By James Alton James.

From the opening of the Revolutionary War, American leaders looked to the conquest of Detroit, the headquarters of the British posts and key to the fur-trade and control of the Indian tribes to the northwest of the Ohio river. Throughout the war this post continued, as Washington wrote, "to be a source of trouble to the whole western country." [1]

Three hundred miles away was Fort Pitt, the only American fortification (1775) guarding the long frontier stretching from Greenbrier in southwestern Virginia to Kitanning on the upper Allegheny.[2]

From these two centers, in council after council, were to be exercised all of the diplomatic finesse of white men in attempts to gain control over the Indians of the Northwest. Assembled at some of these conferences were the chiefs and other representatives of the Delawares of the Muskingum and the Ohio, the Shawnee, the Wyandot, Ottawa, and Potawatomi of Lake Michigan, the Chippewa of all the lakes and besides the Miami, Seneca, Sauk and numerous other tribes.[3] All told, the Northwestern tribes numbered some 8,000 warriors.

Sept. 10, 1775, commissioners appointed by Congress and Virginia assembled at Pittsburgh for the purpose of treating with the Northwestern tribes. Delegates from the Seneca, Delawares, Wyandot, Mingo and Shawnee tribes, in response to the urgent invitation extended to them, gathered slowly for the conference. During a period of three weeks, the commissioners strove by speech and through presents of clothing and strings of wampum to convince the Indians that they should keep the hatchet buried and use all endeavor to induce the Six Nations and other tribes to remain absolutely neutral. Terms of peace, which, in the language of the treaty, were "to endure forever," were finally agreed upon.[4]

Another significant problem considered by the commissioners was the means of capturing Detroit. A plan was outlined by Arthur St. Clair which they readily approved. He proposed a volunteer expedition for the surprise of Detroit, providing it should not be opposed by the Indians.[5]

[1] Letter to Daniel Brodhead, Dec. 29, 1780.

[2] Ft. Blair, near the mouth of the Kanawha, had been evacuated by order of Governor Dunmore and was burned by some of the Ohio Indians.—American Archives, 4th ser., IV, p. 201.

[3] The chief events connected with these conferences were discussed in a paper read before the Wisconsin Historical Society. See Report Wis. Hist. Soc'y for 1909, pp. 125-142.

[4] For the full account of the treaty see Thwaites and Kellogg, Revolution on the Upper Ohio, pp. 25-136.

[5] St. Clair was acting as secretary for the commissioners. He supposed it was due to this plan that he received his first appointment as Colonel by Congress. St. Clair Papers I, p. 15. St. Clair, Campaign against the Indians, 1791, p. 233.

Because of the approval of the project by his associates, St. Clair proceeded to raise 500 men for the expedition. They were to furnish their own horses and provisions. Ammunition, which could not be procured in that section, was to be provided at the expense of the government. The proposal was discussed in Congress but the season was thought too far advanced for undertaking such an expedition.[1] Besides, there was a feeling generally prevalent that Arnold was about to capture Quebec and, as a result, that Canada and the West would come into possession of the Americans. Washington shared this view and it is probable his attitude led to the disapproval of St. Clair's plan by Congress. "The acquisition of Canada," he says to General Schuyler, "is of immeasurable importance to the cause we are engaged in. If you carry your arms to Montreal should not the garrisons of Niagara and Detroit be called on to surrender or threatened with the consequences of a refusal? They may, indeed, destroy their stores, and, if the Indians are aiding, escape to Fort Chartres, but it is not very probable." [2]

That expedition failing, a committee of Congress was instructed to prepare plans for an expedition against Detroit with an estimate of the expense.[3] General Charles Lee urged the absolute necessity of straining every nerve to possess Niagara if not Detroit.[4] The committee recommended that an expedition should be sent immediately against Detroit,[5] for it was understood that 120 soldiers in that garrison were indifferent, the French neutral and the Indians wavering.[6] Final action was postponed, however, until the arrival of Washington. While he sanctioned the project, it was found that it could not be carried on because of insufficient means. Besides, the Iroquois were averse to having an army march through territory to which they laid claim.[7]

The summer months were full of anxiety for the frontiersmen. Six hundred Cherokee were reported as being ready to strike the Virginia frontier with the determination to kill or make prisoners of all the people. These savages had also accepted the war-belt from the Shawnee and Mingo and agreed to fall on the Kentucky settlements.[8] A general confederation of the western tribes was reported having for its aim the destruction of all the frontier settlements, and there was delay only until their scattered young men should be called in and the corn necessary for subsistence should ripen. In a speech to the Mingo, the most desperate of savage tribes, Hamilton stirred up their most brutal instincts by declaring, as he delivered to them the tomahawk, bullets and powder, having previously taken part, as usual, with his officers, in the war song,[9] "that he wonder'd to see them so foolish as not to see that the Big Knife was come up very near to them and claimed one-half the water in the Ohio and that if any of the Indians cross'd over to their side of the River they immediately took him, laid his head on a big such usage, and that if they met any of them they should strike their

[1] Am. Archives, 4th ser., III, p. 717.
[2] Nov. 5, 1775. Am. Archives, 4th ser., III, p. 1368. Hamilton and his associates were aware of the contemplated expedition from Ft. Pitt and set about putting the fort at Detroit in a state for defense.
[3] Journals of the Continental Congress, 1776, 14, pp. 301, 318.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Am. Archives, 2nd ser., VI, p. 1677. Journals of Continental Congress, IV, p. 373.
[6] Unsigned letter, Draper Mss. Coll's. 3 U, p. 580.
[7] Am. Archives, 5th ser., I, pp. 35, 36, 37.
[8] Am. Archives, 5th ser., II, p. 1236.
[9] Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll's., IX, p. 482.

block and chopp'd it off, that he had now put them in a way to prevent tomahawks into their heads, cut off some of the hair and bring it to him." [1] It was suspected that 1,500 Chippewa and Ottawa were rendezvousing with the intention of attacking Fort Pitt.[2] Driven to desperation, backwoodsmen forsook their clearings, evacuating the country for 200 miles, except at certain places where some of them forted.[3]

At the time, the frontier defense was entrusted to 100 men at Fort Pitt, 100 at Big Kanawha, and 25 at Wheeling, all in the pay of Virginia. These numbers were far too meagre for the purpose and much less were they capable of any offensive warfare. Messengers were dispatched to Congress and to Williamsburg imploring an augmentation of the numbers in the garrisons and the formation of new posts having proper supplies of ammunition and provisions.[4] The militia of Westmoreland and West Augusta counties were called out.[5]

The county lieutenants of Hampshire, Dunmore, Frederick and Berkeley were directed to collect provisions and hold their militia in readiness to march to Fort Pitt for immediate service. A company of militia was ordered out as "rangers" for Fincastle county. But notwithstanding the defenseless condition of the frontier, apprehension was so widespread lest the savages should destroy their homes during their absence that the militia was gotten together only after great delay,[6] many absolutely refusing the draft.[7]

The assembly at Pittsburgh, by George Morgan, Indian Agent for the Middle Department, of 644 warriors and chiefs representing the Six Nations, Delawares, Munsee and Shawnee, served to dissipate the widespread gloom. These Indian envoys promised "inviolable peace with the United States and neutrality during the war with Great Britain.[8] Twelve chiefs were induced to visit Philadelphia, where they were introduced to Congress. For a few months after the treaty, all the other western tribes, with the exception of a few of the Mingo, known as Pluggy's Band, seemed desirous of preserving peaceful relations.[9]

With difficulty, the Virginia authorities were persuaded that an expedition[10] against these banditti would tend to bring on general hostilities with the other tribes of the Northwest, already jealous of the slightest encroachment by Americans. At the time, they were agitated because of the settlement of lands on the Ohio below the Kanawha and in Kentucky. The traces to Detroit were well worn by the tribes which assembled to meet Hamilton, who was striving in every way to excite the Indians to take up the hatchet.

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[1] Morgan Letter Book, II, Aug. 18, 1776. To the Committee of Congress for Indian Affairs.
[2] Rev. On Upper Ohio, p. 200.
[3] Morgan Letter Book, I, Nov. 8, 1776; George Morgan to John Hancock, President of Congress.
[4] Congress directed that a ton of gunpowder should immediately be sent. Journal of the Continental Congress, IV, p. 396.
[5] Rev. On Upper Ohio, p. 200.
[6] Am. Archives, 5th ser., II, p. 513.
[7] Rev. On Upper Ohio, pp. 174, 240.
[8] Morgan Letter Book, I. Morgan to John Hancock, Nov. 8, 1776. Am. Archives, 5th Ser., III, pp. 599, 600.
[9] It was estimated that there were some seventy families included in this band. They were joined by twenty young men of the Shawnee tribe. Morgan Letter Book, I, Mar. 9, 1777.
[10] Morgan Letter Book, I, Mar. 12, 1777. "You are to take command," wrote Governor Patrick Henry to Col. David Shepherd, "of 300 men drawn from the militia of Monongalia, Tohogania and Ohio counties or either of them and to march with utmost secrecy an expedition to punish the Indians of Pluggy's Town for their late cruelties committed upon the people of this state."

The year 1777 was long memorable as the "bloody year" in the annals of border history. Early in the year, British authorities began to employ more aggressive measures with the view of distressing the frontiers of Virginia as much as possible and with the hope that the main American army would be weakened through the withdrawal of forces to meet this attack. Sept. 2, 1776, Hamilton proposed the employment of Indians for this purpose. The British government received the recommendation with favor and orders were sent General Carleton directing him to employ every means "that Providence has put into His Majesty's hands for crushing the Rebellion and restoring the Constitution." [1] Orders were sent also to Hamilton to assemble as many Indians as convenient, under "suitable leaders," in the spring, to carry out this decree or march elsewhere as they might be most needed.[2] Similar orders were sent to Lt. Col. St. Leger with regard to the Six Nations.[3] From the friendly disposition manifested by the representatives of many leading tribes of the Northwest, in a council held at Detroit (June 17, 1777), Hamilton felt assured that 1,000 warriors were ready to overrun the frontiers.[4] Although war-bands were exhorted to act vigorously they were urged to act with humanity. But resolutions voiced by the chiefs to pay strict attention to the injunction that they should spare the blood of the aged and of women and children were idle. Special presents for proofs of obedience signified little.[5]

The conduct of affairs at Detroit was left almost entirely to the judgment of Lt. Gov. Hamilton and he was informed that the power of the sword was alone to be trusted.[6] By September, 1777, his power was absolute. He reported in July that fifteen bands of savages had been sent by him to raid the frontiers. In isolated localities, too remote for warning, men were killed or captured while at work in the fields or out hunting. Women and children were burned in the houses or, as in other cases, the entire family, together with plunder, were carried away as prisoners.[7] Hard pressed by their pursuers, the Indians killed such prisoners as hindered their rapid retreat. Thus the tomahawk saved them from sharing in the fate of their companions, which was frequently more cruel. Upon arrival at an Indian village men prisoners were forced at times to satisfy the cruel instincts of their captors by running the gauntlet or, as in other instances, were burned at the stake. Some were sold to British and French traders and later affected their escape or were ransomed. Women were compelled to become the wives or slaves of the warriors, and children were adopted into the tribe.

That Lt. Gov. Hamilton offered rewards for scalps cannot be absolutely proved. But Americans generally believed him guilty of this

[1] Letter of Lord George Germaine, Mar. 26, 1777. Mich. Pioneer Coll's., IX, p. 347.
On July 24, 1776, the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State, wrote Col. Guy Johnson "that in suppressing the unnatural rebellion he should lose no time in taking such steps as may induce the Six Nations to take up the hatchet against His Majesty's rebellious subjects in America." N. Y. Col. Doc's, VIII, p. 596.
[2] Mich. Pioneer Coll's., IX, p. 344.
[3] Mich. Pioneer Coll's., IX, p. 346.
[4] A complete report of this celebrated council is given in the Draper Mss. Coll's., 49 J. 13.
[5] Mich. Pioneer Coll's., IX, p. 465.
[6] Mich. Pioneer Coll's., IX, p. 345.
[7] Revolution Upper Ohio, pp. 249-251; 253-255.

crime and he was, while a prisoner, accused of it by the council of Virginia.[1] That scalps were paid for seems well established through the testimony of spies, disguised as traders, who visited Detroit, and of American prisoners.[2] Among the goods listed at Detroit, which included blankets, kettles, knives, razors and rum, were 150 dozen scalping knives.[3] Hamilton's own dispatches indicate that the taking of scalps was by no means exceptional. January, 1778, he wrote General Carleton that the Indians had brought in 73 prisoners and 129 scalps,[4] and in a letter of September he says: "Since last May, the Indians of this district have taken 34 prisoners and 81 scalps."[5] At the same time, he asserted that it was customary to present a gift on "every proof of obedience they show in sparing the lives of such as are incapable of defending themselves." [6]

But charges of inhumanity cannot be brought against all British officials. Lt. Gov. Abbott in his appeal to General Carleton (June 8, 1778) to prevent the continuance of savage barbarities declared "that it was not people in arms that Indians will ever daringly attack; but the poor inoffensive families who fly to the deserts to be out of trouble, and who are inhumanely butchered, sparing neither women or children.[7] Major De Peyster, who succeeded to the command at Detroit, was accustomed to pay more for prisoners than for scalps. Lord Chatham opposed the enlistment of Indians. "But who is the man," he said (November, 1777), "who has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage?" [8] * * * What! to attribute the sanction of God and Nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife. * * * They shock every sentiment of honor. They shock me as a lover of honorable war and a detester of murderous barbarity. These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand a most decisive indignation."

Preparations against a possible attack on the Virginia frontier settlements in the early spring of 1777 were hastened by order of Gov. Patrick Henry. County lieutenants were warned to have the militia in

[1] Draper Mss. Coll's., 49 J. 54. The finding of the Council, June 16, 1779, was based on letters of George Rogers Clark and other papers. This report says: "They find that Governour Hamilton has executed the task of inciting the Indians to perpetrate their accustomed cruelties on the citizens of these States, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, with an eagerness and activity which evince that the general nature of his charge harmonized with his particular disposition: they should have been satisfied from the other testimony adduced that these enormities were committed by Savages acting under his commission, but the number of proclamations which at different times were left in houses, the inhabitants of which were killed or carried away by the Indians, one of which proclamation under the hand and seal of Governour Hamilton, is in possession of the Board, puts this fact beyond doubt. * * * that Governour Hamilton gave standing rewards for scalps, but offered none for prisoners, which induced the Indians, after making their captives carry their baggage into the neighborhood of the fort, there to put them to death, and carry in their scalps to the Governour, who welcomed their return and successes by a discharge of Cannon: * * *"

[2] Morgan Letter Book, III, Mar. 20, 1778. Daniel Sullivan, in a letter to Col. John Cannon, wrote of a visit to Detroit for the purpose of ascertaining the condition of that post. While there he learned that Hamilton, in his determination to destroy the frontier settlements was wont to pay "very high prices in goods for scalps the Indians brought in. That he likewise pays for Prisoners but does not redeem them from the savages and says he will not do it until the expiration of the present war."

[3] Mich. Pioneer Coll's., IX, p. 471.

[4] Ibid.. p. 431.

[5] Ibid., IX, p. 477.

[6] Ibid., IX, p. 465.

[7] Ibid., IX, pp. 488, 489.

[8] This speech, in Parliament, was made in reply to Lord Suffolk who had declared that "there were no means which God and Nature might have placed at the disposal of the governing powers, to which they would not be justified in having recourse."

readiness.[1] Magazines were directed to be erected in Ohio, Yohogania and Monongalia counties and ammunition was forwarded to them. With the coming of spring, 200 warriors entered Kentucky with the design of cutting off the settlers gathered in the forts at Harrodsburg, Boonesborough, and at Logan's Station. Such a stroke, it was hoped by Hamilton, would put an end to American control in Kentucky. The fury of the attack upon each in turn was met with such desperate resistance that the savages withdrew from "Harrod's and Boone's." The timely arrival of Col. John Bowman with two companies of troops from Virginia, numbering 100 men, saved the besieged inhabitants at Logan's Fort from death by starvation or final surrender.

The situation for the Kentucky people was still desperate during the succeeding winter. For twelve months they had scarcely ventured to go beyond the protection of the three forts. The greater part of their stock of corn had been burned. Their horses had been driven off and the 200 women and children, many of them destitute of the necessary clothing, could not be sent to the older settlements.[2] Before the expiration of the time of enlistment of Bowman's men, the fields were cultivated and a stock of provisions and of ammunition was collected. Meantime, numbers of emigrants entered Kentucky and the feeling of security increased.

During April and May small bands of Indians caused the utmost consternation on the Ohio frontier by committing a number of murders. Forts and blockhouses were hastily constructed in some localities, while in others the inhabitants sought safety by flight.[3] It was learned at Fort Henry,[4] through Cornstalk, distinguished chief of the Shawnee, that a general confederacy of the Northwestern tribes was well nigh complete, lacking only the addition of his tribe, and that hostilities were about to begin.

Informed of these hostile demonstrations, Congress resolved to send an experienced officer to take command at Fort Pitt, who was to embody the militia and plan for the general defense. This difficult undertaking was entrusted to Brig. Gen. Edward Hand, who proceeded at once to Pittsburgh, arriving there June 1. To assist him on this mission, Congress voted arms and ammunition for the use of troops at Pittsburgh and elsewhere on the frontier and $4,000 for strengthening the works at that post and for contingent expenses. Discretionary power was granted to him to embody one thousand or more militia for the defense of the frontier.[5]

It was anticipated that the high opinion in which Gen. Hand was held on the frontier would cause the militia, when summoned, to respond at once. Five companies assembled at Point Pleasant with the object

[1] Revolution Upper Ohio, p. 223.

[2] The men numbered 65 at Harrodsburg: 22 at Boonesborough and 15 at Logan's Fort. Withers' Chronicles of Border Warfare." p. 208. Letter of Col. Bowman to General Hand, Dec. 12, 1777. Draper Mss. Cols., Haldimand Papers, pp. 192, 193.

[3] Rev. Upper Ohio, p. 255.

[4] Point Pleasant.

[5] Journals Cont. Cong., VII, pp. 247, 256.

Fourteen boat carpenters and sawyers had been sent in February from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. Thirty batteaux, 40 feet long, 9 feet wide, and 32 inches deep were built by them for the purpose of transporting troops and provisions in case an invasion of the Indian country was determined upon.

of invading the Indian country, and there awaited Gen. Hand's coming from Fort Pitt.[1] Upon his arrival, with but few troops and without provisions, the expedition was reluctantly abandoned and the militia returned to their homes.

Messengers were sent to the various isolated settlements recommending that they should be immediately abandoned and the settlers take shelter within the fortresses or retire east of the mountains. Notwithstanding the vigilance of scouting parties constantly traversing the woods, deeds of savage violence were continuous.

Gen. Hand learned through messages, brought by runners from the Moravian towns, that the Ohio settlements were soon to be attacked by an army of Indians under the leadership of Simon Girty.[2] Settlers hastened to retire to the security of the forts. The first blow fell on Fort Henry, garrisoned at the time by two companies of militia, forty men in all, under Col. David Shepherd. Warned by Gen. Hand of the approaching danger, Col. Shepherd had early in August assembled the militia for the defense of the fort, but as the enemy did not appear vigilance was relaxed and nine companies of militia returned to their homes. This fort, which stood upon the bank of the Ohio near the mouth of Wheeling creek, was next in importance to Fort Pitt.[3] Between the fort and the base of a steep hill was an open level space partly occupied by log cabins. The settlers were assured by scouts who had been watching the approaches that there was no immediate danger. On that night, August 31, between two and three hundred warriors ambushed themselves within a short distance of the village. Early next morning Andrew Zane, with three companions, while searching for some horses were surprised by six Indians. One of the whites was killed. The others escaped, Zane, it is said, having leaped from a cliff seventy feet high. With the belief that the enemy was few in numbers, fourteen men marched out to the attack. Discovering the main body of the Indians, they attempted to escape but were all killed with the exception of two who were badly wounded but finally reached the fort. Another party of twelve, advancing to the relief of their comrades, were in like manner shot down or butchered, one only escaping. The defense of the terror-stricken settlers, who meantime had fled for refuge to the fort, was dependent on thirty-three men. To their surprise, the Indians did not make an attack. After throwing up rude earthworks, they killed all of the live-stock within their reach, set fire to the cabins and retreated across the Ohio.[4]

On September 26, a scouting party consisting of forty-three men set out from Fort Henry. Returning the next day, they were attacked

[1] While awaiting the coming of General Hand, some mutinous soldiers murdered Chief Cornstalk, who had been held as a hostage, together with his son and two companions. Rewards were offered by the Governor and Council of Virginia for the apprehension and conviction of the murderers but without avail owing to the excited state of public feeling. Cornstalk was noted for his commanding appearance and oratorical ability. The Shawnee were thereafter the inveterate foes of the whites and as a result the Indian war was renewed with greater vigor the following year. Draper, Trip 1860, V, 102, 144.

[2] Moravians from the Muskingum. Girty was not the leader of this expedition.

[3] Fort Henry, formerly called Fort Fincastle was built in 1774. It was an oblong stockade of pickets pointed at the top and with bastions and sentry-boxes at the angles. About half an acre of ground was enclosed. Within the enclosure were log barracks, a storehouse, a well and cabins.

[4] Many stories of the heroism of both men and women have been related in connection with this event. Most of them are mythical. Some of them had their foundation in the siege of Wheeling, Sept. 11, 1782

by Half King, chief of the Wyandot, who, with forty of his braves, was lying in ambush. Twenty-one of the whites were killed. Contrary to their usage, the savages continued their depredations after the setting in of winter when the borderers were off their guard.

Fearful lest these forays carried on at the instigation of British agents would lead to the depopulation of the Virginia and Pennsylvania frontiers, Congress, late in the year, appointed three commissioners who were to coöperate with Gen. Hand in carrying the war into the enemy's country.[1] They were empowered to extend such operations so as to include an immediate advance on Detroit and its dependencies provided it was thought feasible at that season of the year and could be accomplished with a force not to exceed 2,000 men exclusive of Indian auxiliaries.

Throughout the winter preparations were carried on for protection against the recurrence of the outrages of the preceding year. New forts were built and old ones strengthened. Gen. Hand now determined upon an aggressive policy. During February, 1778, with a force of 500, chiefly militia, he set out for the Indian strongholds beyond the Ohio. Because of the heavy rains, the advance was slow. After taking possession of some Indian towns, almost deserted by their inhabitants, the expedition was abandoned. This, the first movement by Americans against the Indians during the Revolution, was deemed a failure. It resulted only in the capture of a number of non-combatants and was commonly known as "the squaw campaign." Disappointed at the outcome, which was not due to lack of ability on his part and "much pestered with the machinations" of the tories who were numerous on the frontier, Gen. Hand, upon his own request, was recalled from the command at Pittsburgh. He was succeeded by Lachlan McIntosh, who had entered the army at the opening of the war and had been advanced to the rank of brigadier-general.

The incursions of the savages, assisted by the tories, upon the frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia were almost continuous during the spring and summer of 1778. While these attacks were incited by the authorities at Detroit many of the settlers themselves were not blameless. The borderers were characterized in a report of the Board as "a wild, ungovernable race, little less savage than their tawny neighbors; and by similar barbarities have in fact provoked them to revenge.[2] But the suffering of the innocent with the guilty made immediate relief necessary. Moreover, it appeared certain that these forays were but the preliminaries to a general Indian war which threatened with devastation the whole frontier region[3]. It was reported that 1,600 warriors from the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Mingo, Wyandot, and a few of the Ottawa, Chippewa and Shawnee tribes together, with a num-

[1] Nov. 20, 1777. Journals of the Cont. Cong., new ed., IX, pp. 942-944. The commissioners appointed were Col. Samuel Washington, Col. Joseph Reed and Gabriel Jones.
General Washington was also directed to send Col. William Crawford to Pittsburgh to take command under General Hand of the Continental troops and militia in the Western Department.

[2] The Board of War to Washington May 19, 1778. Washington Mss., Box 35, No. 5. Library of Congress.

[3] Extracts from the Minutes of Congress, June 11, 1778. Letters to Washington, 1778, Vol. XXV, folios 86, 87. Library of Congress.

ber of British emissaries, were collecting for this purpose.[1] All attempts to conciliate these tribes and the threatenings of commissioners no longer availed, for the Indians were firm in the opinion, which had been assiduously inculcated among them, that the forbearance of the states proceeded from their inability to revenge the outrages committed against them. Influenced by these considerations and aware that Detroit was still in a defenseless condition,[2] Congress determined to abandon the policy of a defensive war and to undertake immediately two expeditions. One of them was to have as its object the capture of Detroit and the subjugation of such Indian tribes on the way thither as were enemies of the states. The other expedition was to be organized for the purpose of carrying the war into the Seneca country and the conquest of such tribes of the Six Nations as were hostile. Another object of this expedition was to gain possession of Oswego.

The expedition against Detroit was projected on so large a scale that its success seemed assured. An army of 3,000 men, the majority of them to be furnished by Virginia, was to advance in two equal divisions; one by the way of the Big Kanawha to Fort Randolph, where it was to be joined by the other division coming from Fort Pitt down the Ohio. Nine hundred thirty thousand dollars were appropriated towards defraying the expenses.[3]

That the French at Detroit would render no assistance to the English upon the approach of the enemy seemed certain.[4] Hamilton himself had knowledge of this disaffection. Writing Gen. Carleton he said: "When it is considered how many people in this settlement have connections with the Americans, it will not be surprising if the Virginians should have notice of anything projected against them from this quarter, and tho' a great deal if not everything depends upon secrecy I must not flatter myself 'twill be concealed (as it should) since an Indian for a gallon of rum may be engaged to carry letters of intelligence."[5]

With 500 men, including the Eighth Pennsylvania regiment under Col. Daniel Brodhead and the Thirteenth Virginia regiment under Col. John Gibson, Gen. McIntosh set out, in June, for Fort Pitt. Commissioners sent by Congress, through the judicious distribution of presents among the Delawares, assembled at Pittsburgh, $10,000 having been appropriated for that purpose, obtained permission to traverse their territory. In the meantime Congress determined to defer the expedition

[1] Hamilton reported the Lake Indians in readiness to go to war in the spring. He hoped to have 150 militia and 30 to 40 men of the garrison join them in th's enterprise. He was possessed of a plan of Ft. Pitt and was convinced that it might at the time be captured by a small force. Mich. Pioneer Coll's., IX, p. 431.

[2] Journals Continental Congress, new ed., XI, p. 588.

[3] Journals of the Continental Congress, XI, p. 590.
This meant an expenditure of $261,000 more than would be required for the maintenance of the defensive policy. Should Detroit be captured however it was shown that an amount larger than this additional sum would be saved in a single year for the defense of the Virginia and Pennsylvania frontiers would no longer be necessary.

[4] Letter of John Leath to George Morgan, Aug. 19, 1778. Morgan Letter Book III. French merchants were suspected of being inclined to the cause of the States. Trade for a number of years had been restricted in such a way that the people were willing to pay even higher prices for the goods brought from New Orleans and other Spanish posts for trade at Kaskaskia and Detroit than for the goods furnished by the English themselves. Wis. Hist. Col's., XVIII, pp. 290, 291.
The total population of Detroit (1778) exclusive of the British soldiers was 2,144.—Mich. Pioneer Coll's., IX, p. 469.

[5] Ibid., IX, p. 432.

against Detroit. This change of plan was due chiefly to the report that it was impracticable to secure the necessary men, horses, flour and cattle within the time stipulated.[1]

Gen. McIntosh was directed to assemble 1,500 troops at Fort Pitt with which he was to proceed against the hostile tribes and destroy their towns. As a step in fulfillment of this plan he built a fort (Fort McIntosh) at the mouth of Big Beaver creek, thirty miles below Pittsburgh. This was the first fort built on the right bank of the Ohio and, although primarily intended as a refuge in case of defeat, it was well located to furnish assistance to the settlements which had reached the Muskingum and extended a few miles up that river.

With a force of 1,000 men Gen. McIntosh, towards the last of October, advanced westward. Reaching an elevated plain on the Tuscarawas river,[2] seventy miles from Fort McIntosh, and while waiting for his main supplies to come up, he began the erection of a stockaded fort.[3] The construction of Fort Laurens completed, the season was then so far advanced and the difficulty of procuring provisions was so great[4] that the forward movement was abandoned. Leaving Col. Gibson in charge, with a garrison of 150 men, McIntosh conducted his remaining force to Fort Pitt, where the militia were disbanded.

During the course of these events a plan was evolved which, like many another paper proposal, met with almost unanimous support in Congress. This included the capture of Detroit and Niagara and also an attack on Quebec in which American troops were to be supported by a French fleet and army under LaFayette. Once more the far-sightedness of Washington prevented the enormous expenditure of money necessary for the equipment of these expeditions which must, at the time, have resulted only in failure and the possible destruction of American hopes for ultimate victory.[5]

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[1] Resolutions of Congress, July 25, 1778. Based on letters from Patrick Lockhart. Commissary of the expedition and from Patrick Henry. Letters to Washington, 1778. Folio 88, 89 Congressional Library, Journal of Va., House of Delegates. July 7, 1778, p. 287.

[2] A branch of Muskingum river.

[3] Near this spot Bouquet had built a stockade, 1764.

[4] Draper Mss. Coll's., 58 J. 32. Clinton to Haldimand, Feb. 1, 1779.

[5] Oct. 22, 1778. Journals Cont. Congress, XII., 1042-1048.

(Sub heads under note 5.)

1. For the capture of Detroit, 3,000 men were to be called for from Virginia and Pennsylvania and of these 1,500 of the most effective were to be selected for the expedition. Together with 100 light cavalry, they were to be prepared for marching orders by June 1.
2. For the protection of the frontiers of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, 500 men were to be stationed near Wyoming—and this number was to be increased by 1,000 in the spring.
3. Fifteen hundred men were to be stationed along the Mohawk. In the spring, 2,500 more men were to be used for the same purpose.
4. Two thousand five hundred men were to march from Ft. Schuyler about the middle of May for an attack on Oswego.
5. Five thousand regular troops were to be recruited during the winter with the aim of marching against Montreal.

These plans proving successful the combined French and American attack against Quebec was to follow. It was urged as a tempting offer to France to join in the undertaking; 1. A share in the fisheries of New Foundland and in the fur-trade at that time monopolized by Great Britain; and 2. An extension of French commerce.

Washington regarded the whole plan as visionary requiring as it would more troops and money than were available. He argued that the American government would in attempting its fulfillment become involved in engagements to France which could not be met. He felt also that it would be but natural, in case Canada was taken, for France to demand that province as the price of her assistance. His opinions were of such weight that when stated to a Committee of Congress that this part of the scheme was abandoned.

Sparks, Life and Writings of Washington, I, pp. 311, seq.

The winter proved a trying one for the garrison at Fort Laurens. Late in January, a party of fifteen men which had carried provisions to them was waylaid three miles from the fort, while returning to Fort Pitt, by a band of Mingo and Wyandotte led by Simon Girty.[1] Other convoys of provisions failed to reach the fort because of attacks by Indians and the garrison was on the verge of starvation. In February Capt. Henry Bird of the King's regiment, accompanied by Simon Girty and a few soldiers, led 120 savages against the fort itself. Col. Gibson, aware of the presence of the enemy, although they were in hiding, persisted in sending out eighteen men to bring in the horses belonging to the fort. Sixteen of the party were killed and the two others were made prisoners. For a month the fort was invested, the besiegers finally retiring for want of supplies. A few days later Gen. McIntosh reached the fort with 500 regulars and militia. He learned of the critical situation through an Indian who succeeded in stealing through the lines with a message from Col. Gibson. The relief was timely for the garrison had subsisted chiefly on roots for nearly a week.

On his return to Fort Pitt, Gen. McIntosh learned that his request to be relieved from the command of the Western army had been granted and that Col. Brodhead, a man well acquainted with the conditions in the back country, had, on the recommendation of Washington, been appointed as his successor.[2] While little had seemingly been accomplished by these movements, nevertheless the British plans to gain possession of the West and lend assistance to their Eastern forces had been foiled. The rumor that another expedition was to be sent from Pittsburgh in April together with the activities of George Rogers Clark not only frightened the officials at Detroit but "greatly damped the spirits" of their Indian allies.[3]

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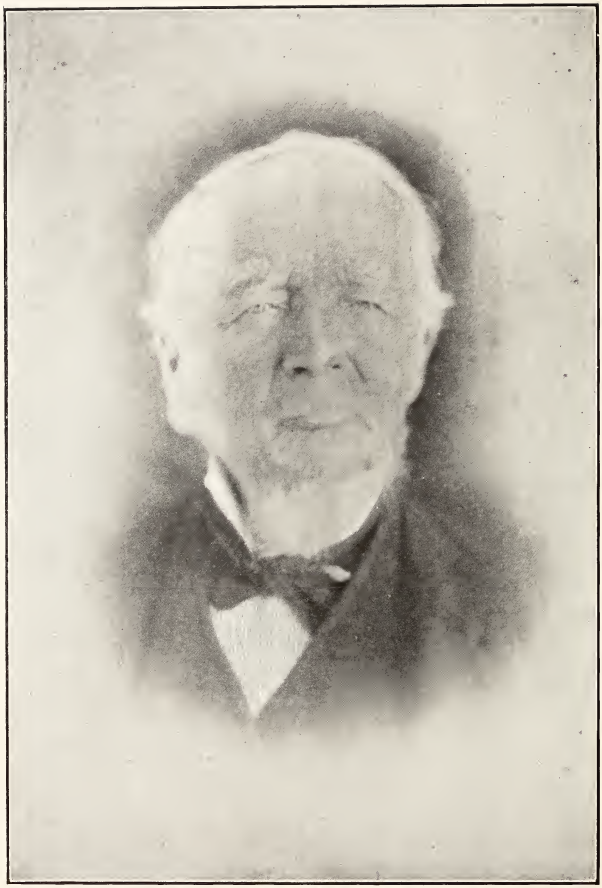
[1] Two whites were killed, four were wounded and one was made prisoner.

[2] Draper Mss. Coll's., Brodhead Papers, I, H 33.
Preceding the outbreak of the Revolution, Daniel Brodhead was a deputy surveyor in Reading, Pennsylvania. Oct. 25, 1776, he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel and within six months was promoted to the office of Colonel in the Eighth Pennsylvania regiment. In this capacity he accompanied General McIntosh on the expedition described. After the war, he became a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly and was subsequently made Surveyor-general in that state.

[3] Draper Mss. Coll's., 49 J. 20, 25; 58 J. 9-12; 58 J. 32, 33.

PART III.

Contributions to State History.



Alfred Cowles.
(Taken at the age of ninety-eight years.)

ALFRED COWLES.

By Dr. J. F. Snyder.

History is usually defined as little more than aggregation of individual biographies—in the main, of noted persons who have gained civic or military honors. The multitude who have not sought fame, but obscurely labored for progress and improvement, are conspicuous in history only as "the common people." That class, however, is entitled to more consideration from the historian than it ordinarily receives, for upon it is grounded the power and prestige of the State.

No great achievement linked the name of Alfred Cowles (pronounced Coles) with the history of Illinois. He was not a statesman, warrior, or writer, but only one of the people, a pioneer lawyer and private citizen, who well and conscientiously did his modest part in the building of this State, and passed away—as did many other worthy pioneers—leaving scarcely a trace of his existence upon the pages of its history. The apology offered for recording his uneventful career and perpetuating his memory, is the fact that he was one of the very few pioneers of education and ability who came to Illinois at its formative stage without aspirations for official preferment, or fame, but content to quietly attend to his own business and the duties incumbent upon him as a citizen.

He was of sturdy New England stock, descended from Round Head ancestry, and was born in Farmington, Hartford county, Connecticut, on July 1, 1787. Longevity was characteristic of the Cowles family. His brother, William, born in the same house at Farmington, died there at the age of 99 years, having in all that time never been outside of that county. Their father was a soldier in the patriot army of the Revolutionary war, and later a prosperous farmer. Alfred Cowles received the best education attainable at that period in Hartford county, and began the study of law before he was old enough to vote. Shortly after his admission to the bar occurred the next most memorable event of his life, that of his marriage to a girl having his own family name, Miss Charlotte Gleason Cowles. Her father was Gen. Solomon Cowles, then a merchant in Farmington, and also formerly a Revolutionary soldier. No blood relationship could be traced between the two families, but they were probably from the same remote ancestors. For some

years Mr. Cowles practiced law in Connecticut courts, thereby gaining in legal knowledge and experience, and also gaining slowly in the field of professional business securely held by older lawyers.

He was past 30 years of age when Illinois was admitted as a State into the Union, in 1818. By that event the tide of western emigration, feebly commencing after Colonel Clark's conquest of the Northwest in 1778-79, received large accessions from all sections of the South and East. The magic development of the far West presented to Mr. Cowles so many flattering prospects for bettering his circumstances that he could not resist the inducements to join the moving throng, and to try his fortunes in the new prairie State. His marriage had been blessed by the birth of a son, whose brief span of life was, however, terminated at the age of 15 months. That sad occurrence increased the desire to get away from the scene of their bereavement and its shadow of gloom they could not dispel. Having at length perfected all necessary preparations, the young lawyer, with his wife, left Connecticut in the early spring of 1821, and started on the long journey in a covered wagon, fitted up with a stove and other domestic conveniences, drawn by a pair of strong horses. Passing, at a leisurely gait, through the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, and across Illinois, their pilgrimage ended, in midsummer, at Belleville, in the latter state, fourteen miles from the Mississippi. Mr. Cowles' first transaction there was to trade his team and wagon for about an acre of land in the dense woods on the southeastern outskirts of the village, on which was a log cabin in fair condition wherein he commenced housekeeping.

The population of Belleville at that time did not exceed 300. Three lawyers constituted its local bar, William Mears, David Blackwell, and Robert K. McLaughlin. At the September term of circuit court, Judge John Reynolds presiding, Alfred Cowles was duly examined, admitted, and enrolled as a practicing attorney. He was then quite prepossessing in personal appearance. In figure erect, well-formed, 5 feet 7 inches in height, and average weight of 160 pounds. His eyes were blue, his hair light brown in color, and complexion florid. Of sanguine temperament, he was pleasant and jovial in disposition, fluent and interesting in conversation; his voice strong and distinct, and his cultured language free from slang and vulgarity. In character he was strictly moral, reliable, honorable, and temperate in all things. Never having used tobacco in any manner, or liquor, his personal habits were exceptional in the free social conditions of the frontier. As a lawyer, he was an excellent conveyancer, and thoroughly understood the science of pleading, but, devoid of the gift of oratory, he was not an eloquent speaker, and, consequently, but an indifferent advocate. However, his close and faithful application to business, his sound judgment and broad legal knowledge, placed him in the front ranks among his contemporaries of the profession.

Three years before Mr. Cowles located in Belleville (1819) Attorney A. C. Stuart was killed in a duel by Timothy Bennett, but his vacancy at the bar was soon supplied by the arrival there of another lawyer, David Blackwell. McLaughlin, who did not devote his time or attention

exclusively to the law, but was more inclined to politics and office-holding, shortly thereafter left Belleville, moving to the new State capital, Vandalia, where he became quite prominent and wealthy, and died there in 1856. Against the strong local competition of Mears and Blackwell—both able lawyers—Cowles not only held his own, but prospered. He was energetic, industrious, and a very active business man. With the other members of the bar he attended the spring and fall terms of circuit court in each county of the second judicial district, which then comprised a fourth of the inhabited portion of the State, including Madison, Randolph, Fayette, Marion, and all intermediate counties. He sought neither popularity or distinction, except in the line of his profession. At the time when almost every man in Illinois who could read and write, was a politician, and two-thirds of them were office-seekers, he avoided any reference to political questions, and managed to maintain friendly relations with all parties without committing himself to the support of either. This course may have been owing to his natural distaste for politics and public life, and somewhat to the fact that the political principles he entertained allied him with the hopeless minority. A stanch Adams man and radically opposed to slavery on coming to Illinois, he found the Jackson party here supreme, and many of its ablest leaders decidedly in favor of adopting the institution of slavery in this State. At the second election for Governor, in 1822, though political parties had not yet been defined, no concerted lines of public policy presented, and candidates were not selected by convention or caucus, the real issue was the slavery question. Not the national abolition of slavery—for no prominent politician in Illinois until 1861 had the moral courage to publicly declare he was an Abolitionist[1]—but it was whether or not slavery should be perpetuated in this State by constitutional authority. Edward Coles had come to Madison county in 1819 with twenty-three slaves he had emancipated on the way from Virginia, and despite the earnest protests of almost all the citizens of Madison county, he entered 160 acres of land for each head of a family of those freed negroes, and settled them in that county. At that election Edward Coles, then Receiver of the Land Office at Edwardsville, was a candidate for Governor, committed to the exclusion of slavery from the State. He was opposed by two very popular pro-slavery candidates, Judge Phillips and Judge Browne, and by General Moore, whose views were not generally known.

Coles was elected, but not by a majority of the voters. He received 2,810 votes; for the two Judges 5,303 were cast, and for General Moore, 522. The plurality of Coles over Phillips, the next highest candidate, was barely 50, and the combined majority against him was 3,015. Alfred Cowles took no active part in the campaign, but voted for Coles, and was thenceforth a quiet, steadfast, supporter of his administration, and a personal friend very highly esteemed by the new Governor. In the tumultuous convention contest that followed the disgraceful pro-slavery

[1] See Mr. Lincoln's inaugural address, March 4, 1861.

legislation of the Third General Assembly, culminating in the election of Aug. 2, 1824, Alfred Cowles was—with Governor Coles, Dr. John M. Peck, Rev. James Lemen, and all that valiant band—unflinching in his efforts to defeat the infamous convention resolution, and voted against its adoption. At the Presidential election three months later, of the four candidates presented, Jackson, Adams, Clay and Crawford, he cast his vote for John Quincy Adams, who was subsequently made President by the House of Representatives.

In 1825, Mr. Cowles was appointed, by Governor Coles, State's Attorney for the 2d Judicial district, and re-appointed by Governor Edwards in 1827. He was again commissioned for the same position by Governor Reynolds in 1831, and also in 1832. By act of Feb. 7, 1835, the Legislature assumed the power of electing State's Attorneys for the several Judicial districts, excepting that in which the capital of the State was situated, and in that one the Attorney General was required to act as Prosecuting Attorney. Vandalia, the State capital, was at that time in the 2d Judicial circuit; consequently Jesse B. Thomas Jr., the Attorney General, by virtue of his office, superseded Mr. Cowles in that district.

In those days the office of State's Attorney, was by no means a sinecure. His duty was to represent the people and State at every term of the Circuit Court held in his district; to explain to grand juries in detail their obligations and powers as instructed by the Judge, and to prosecute all persons brought into court for trial charged with crimes and misdemeanors. When Mr. Cowles was first appointed to the office, the only compensation he received for his services, was five dollars for each conviction he secured; but by Act of the Legislature in 1827, the State's Attorneys were paid a salary of $250.00 per annum—a very liberal allowance, considering that the annual salary of the Attorney General was but $350.00., and that of the Governor $1,000.00. In some of the counties much time of each term of the court was occupied by prosecutions for rioting, horse stealing, cutting timber on public land, etc. For the latter offense, however, it was commonly said, conviction was impossible, as sometimes the Judge himself was guilty of that infraction of the law.

The case, on indictment, entitled "The County of Madison vs. Edward Coles," for violation of the law of 1819, in settling his freed slaves in Illinois without having given bond in the sum of $200.00 for each to guarantee they would not become public charges, was tried in the Madison county Circuit Court, before Judge John Reynolds and a jury, in September, 1824, and a verdict rendered against the Governor for $2,000.00—which the Legislature promptly released the following winter. The next move of the Governor's enemies, was to cause him to be indicted by the grand jury for libeling Judge Sam McRoberts, in a newspaper article he wrote criticising the Court's rulings. McRoberts also entered civil suit against him for $5,000.00 damages. These suits were pending when Alfred Cowles became Prosecuting Attorney in 1825. He found the indictment for libel to be so plainly a matter of personal spite and malicious persecution that, without hesitation, he dismissed it with

a *nolle prosequi.* That procedure did not meet the approval of the Governor, who wrote Cowles a sharp letter of reproof for having thus deprived him of the opportunity of being vindicated in McRobert's own court.[1] The suit for damages was never tried.

One of the most celebrated cases ever tried in the Madison county Circuit Court was that of Palemon H. Winchester, a prominent member of the bar, indicted at the March, 1825 term, for killing one Daniel D. Smith, for defaming the character of Mrs. Col. Stephenson, the mother-in-law of Winchester. It was the second case of murder tried in that county, and because of the social prominence of the parties, and the array of great legal talent employed, attracted wide-spread attention and intense public interest. Mr. Cowles was aided in the prosecution by Benjamin Mills, of Jo Daviess county, a lawyer of profound ability, and the most polished orator in the State. The defense was conducted by Henry Starr, the leading lawyer of the Madison county bar, and Felix Grundy, of Nashville, Tennessee, famous as the former Chief Justice of Kentucky, and subsequently U. S. Senator and Attorney General. It was veritably a battle of intellectual giants—well matched forensic gladiators grappled in desperate strife for the destiny of a human life. Public sentiment was decidedly favorable to Winchester, and the forceful, stirring, appeal of Grundy to the prevalent spirit of chivalry in defense of women finally swayed the jury to render a verdict of acquittal.

As the years passed the industry and vigilant application to business of Mr. Cowles were rewarded with financial success. The primitive log cabin in the woods was replaced by a large two-story dwelling house, built of stone, in the (then) modern style of architecture. The fine old forest trees thinned out and trimmed, the brush cleared away, and vines and flowers planted, imparted to the premises an elegant, home-like, appearance. Further evidence of Mr. Cowles' thrift and prosperity is indicated in a letter written, in 1829, by George Forquer, the Attorney General, to Governor Edwards, in which he says, "I should like to raise the sum of $300.00, by giving my draft upon the State for my next years' salary, $350.00, to any person who would let money at that interest, which is nearly 18 per cent. Mr. Cowles has loaned money at a less interest than I offer; it may be he would take the draft upon the State."[2] For it must be remembered that in those "good old times" few indeed were the persons so well off as to have surplus money to loan, and not very many of the settlers could boast of being entirely out of debt.

Called to Kaskaskia by professional business in April, 1825, Mr. Cowles joined the throng of distinguished citizens assembled there to greet their illustrious visitor, General LaFayette, and by their royal welcome and homage, testify to him the gratitude of the people of Illinois for his eminent services in securing the nation's independence.

In August, 1826, Ninian Edwards was elected Governor to succeed Edward Coles. In the early spring of that year, he removed from Ed-

[1] Sketch of Edward Coles, by E. B. Washburne, Chicago, 1882, p. 223.
[2] Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Ill., 1909, No. 2, Vol. 2, pp. 23-24.

wardsville to Belleville, having previously purchased all the unsold lots in that village from its second proprietor, Etienne Pensoneau. He at once infused new life, and a spirit of progress in the place. On the main street he built, of brick, a spacious two-story store house, soon filled with an extensive stock of general merchandise, and on the opposite side of the street a fine private residence which he occupied until his death, by Asiatic cholera, on July 20, 1833. Governor Edwards and Mr. Cowles entertained for each other the most cordial and intimate friendship, the Governor often consulting him in business affairs, and though himself a profound lawyer, employing him as his legal representative in the courts.[1] In no sense a politician, and not directly interested in the schemes and aspirations of the many public men with whom he was brought in contact, he seems to have retained the esteem and confidence of them all. During the long and strenuous campaign for Governor, in 1829-30, when asking for aid or advice regarding his plans and prospects, Reynolds often addressed his letters jointly to Governor Edwards and Alfred Cowles. Or when writing to Governor Edwards alone, he sent him the communications, when convenient, by Cowles, or added to them the postscript, "Show this to Cowles."

Mr. Cowles and wife had joined the Presbyterian church long before leaving Connecticut, but at their new home in the West found no church, and few, if any, inhabitants, of that denomination. In 1832 Rev. John F. Brooks established in Belleville a subscription school of a much higher order than had before been conducted there. Mr. Brooks, a Presbyterian minister, was one of the "Yale band" of seven young theological students who came out west in 1827 under agreement to devote their lives in this distant field to missionary and educational work, commencing their self-allotted task by founding Illinois College, at Jacksonville, in 1828. In his Belleville school Mr. Brooks was assisted by his newly married wife and her sister, and sister's husband, Mr. and Mrs. Bradley. On the 6th of January, 1833, Mr. Brooks organized the first Presbyterian church established in that village. It numbered six members, namely, Alfred Cowles, Charlotte Cowles, Thomas Scott, Jane S. Brooks, Simon Van Arsdale, and Harriet C. Alexander. Thomas Scott and Alfred Cowles were elected ruling elders, acting in that capacity as long as they resided there. Mr. Brooks officiated as the minister until his removal in 1839.

The disgraceful riot at Alton on the evening of Nov. 7, 1837, in which Lyman Bishop and Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy were killed, was duly investigated by the grand jury composed of reputable citizens of Madison county. Conscientious and impartial in the discharge of their duty, bills of indictment were found both against the armed defenders of the Abolition press in the warehouse, who shot Bishop, and the armed mob that shot Lovejoy, then seized the press and destroyed it. The mayor of Alton at that time was Hon. John M. Krum, a lawyer of distinction, who subsequently moved to St. Louis, where he became very popular and wealthy, and was elected mayor of that city. When the indictments

[1] Beaird *versus* the Governor, Mandamus. Edwards Papers, pp. 364-70.

were called for trial, in the municipal court of Alton, in January, 1838, the intensity of popular feeling and excitement had materially subsided in the community, and all parties seemed desirous to get rid of the lamentable affair as speedily as possible. Hon. William Martin was the presiding judge of that court, and Francis B. Murdock, the prosecuting attorney. On Wednesday, January 17th, the Lovejoy adherents, who guarded the press on that fatal night, and shot Bishop, were arrainged for trial, defended by Alfred Cowles, Samuel G. Bailey, and G. T. M. Davis. Usher F. Linder was then Attorney General and ex-officio prosecuting attorney in the circuit courts of the second district. In sympathy with the mob element, and in response to a petition signed by about sixty citizens, he assisted Mr. Murdock in the prosecution. The defense asked for, and secured, a separate trial for Winthrop S. Gilman, one of the owners of the warehouse, who was there that night with Lovejoy. A jury was soon impaneled, and the trial proceeded, with the examination of many witnesses, from early morning until late at night, when "after a very able argument by Mr. Davis and his associate counsel, Hon. Alfred Cowles, Mr. Gilman was pronounced not guilty." [1] Thereupon the city attorney dismissed the indictments against the other defendants.

On Friday, January 19th, the leaders of the mob were arraigned for trial in the same court, but with position of the principal attorneys reversed, Mr. Cowles appearing, with Mr. Murdock, for the State, and General Linder, assisted by S. T. Sawyer and Junius Hall, Esq., defending the rioters. The defendants pleaded "not guilty," and had plenty of witnesses to verify their innocence. As the Abolitionists in that community constituted but an insignificant minority, the jury was necessarily drawn from the majority that openly sympathized with the mob. Many witnesses were examined, but few of whom seemed to know anything of the essential facts in the case, and then for a few hours the lawyers held the jury entranced. In his opening address, for the people, Mr. Murdock strongly appealed for enforcement of the law, and conviction of the defendants who riotously entered the Gilman and Godfrey warehouse, murdered Lovejoy, and throwing his press out of the window smashed it in pieces, and threw the pieces into the river. He was followed by Mr. Sawyer in a brief speech for the defense, preliminary to the irresistible oratory of General Linder, upon which the defendants relied for a verdict in their favor.

In commencing his address to the jury, General Linder thus alluded to Mr. Cowles, who was to make the closing speech for the prosecution: "This occasion will be seized by the venerable gentleman who is to follow me, as a favorable opportunity to pour out some portion of that invective for which he is so admirably qualified. My remarks will undergo a severe scrutiny. You will be addressed in the cold and chilling expression of puritanical feeling, and the severe language of the law; and while I was anticipating the remarks to which you will be called to listen, as I came down to this court room from dinner, and looking

[1] The Martyrdom of Lovejoy, Henry Tanner, Chicago, 1881, p. 190.

upon the broad current of the mighty river which flows by these walls, I could not help drawing a comparison between the fate of his address in the hands of this jury and that of the ice which is borne upon the bosom of the water; and I could not help feeling that his address would meet with the same fate in the warm hearts of this honest jury that the ice finds when it is borne by the current within the influence of a warmer atmosphere." [1]

For more than an hour General Linder's eloquence held the earnest attention of the court and the crowd of people that filled the room. Then Mr. Cowles began his argument to the jury, as follows: "I am no Abolitionist. I have no sympathy for the party; no communion with their creed. But I am a friend to law; an enemy to mobs, and and advocate for good order. I am opposed to the lawless acts of an unprincipled, an infuriated, licentious mob. I am opposed to any resort to brute force, much more when it is resorted to to break down the barriers which the Constitution has thrown around us all. Put down the freedom of thought! Suppress the freedom of speech! Restrain the freedom of the press! Lawless force cannot do it. The effort will be useless; the attempt to do so will be as idle as was that of Canute, the Dane, when he planted his chair upon the sea shore and commanded the waves to roll back from their appointed place. That effort was idle, but not more so than this one. The press still speaks out in tones of thunder, and it will continue to speak out in tones that cannot be resisted, and in language that cannot be misunderstood or disregarded. You cannot put down the press by force. I warn you, I warn you all, against such inconsiderate acts. Let Abolitionists think if they please; let them speak if they choose; let them print if they will. Freedom of thought is our birthright, and freedom of speech the charter of every American citizen. Let him use his privileges; let him exercise his rights responsible to his peers and the law of the land.

"This verdict will determine, for weal or for woe, the fate of this community. If lawless violence can be restrained; if it is ascertained that mobs shall not rule over us; if it is determined that licentiousness shall not prevail; that crime shall not be legalized among us, then all will be well. But if the verdict of this jury is to sanction the deeds of violence and murder which have disgraced this city, then who will stay, or who come among us?

"Remember, that the eyes of this community, of the whole country, are upon you; that the record of this trial will go to the world, and that upon yourselves it depends whether you are honored through coming ages as men who, in an hour not without its danger, fearlessly asserted the prerogatives of law; or whether your names shall go down to all aftertime as fixed figures for the hand of scorn to point its unerring finger at! I have an unyielding hope, an unshaken confidence, that this jury will apply the law and the evidence as it should be applied. I have a firm belief that you will act well your duty to yourselves, your country, and your God; and that you will, so far as in you lies, remove the stain which now rests upon this community."

[1] Alton Trials, by Wm. S. Lincoln, New York, 1838, pp. 132-133.

The trial occupied the entire day until a late hour at night. It was obviously impossible—and no doubt impolitic—to identify the persons who fired the fatal shots on either side, and as one of each party had been killed, there seemed a general disposition to regard the casualties a "stand off." The jury, evidently entertaining that view, late at night, returned a sealed verdict of acquittal, "making it a matter of record," Governor Ford says (*History of Illinois,* p. 245), "that in fact the Abolitionists had not provoked an assault; that there had been no mob; and that no one had been killed or wounded."

The violent suppression of Lovejoy and his paper had no immediate adverse effect upon the business prosperity of Alton. Its far-reaching later effects are too well known to be now retold. It occurred when the internal improvement craze was at its height. Times were flush; active work on several projected railroads and on the Illinois and Michigan canal was progressing; money, borrowed by the State, was abundant, and the outlook for Alton's successful rivalry of St. Louis seemingly very promising.

At the bar and in finances, Mr. Cowles had thrived in Belleville; but he now saw in the vigorous growth of Alton advantages for larger and more remunerative professional business, and for the better employment of his capital in profitable speculation. Early in 1839 he closed up his connection with Belleville, sold his stone mansion there to Governor Wm. Kinney, and moved his family to Upper Alton. By previous agreement, he there entered into partnership, in the practice of law, with Hon. John M. Krum, the mayor, a lawyer of high standing.

In the period of Mr. Cowles' residence at Belleville, his household was enlarged by the addition of six children, named, in order of their birth, Frederick, Louise, Caroline, Cornelia, Elizabeth, and Alfred E. Caroline died there when ten years of age. In the same year that the Cowles family left Belleville, Rev. John F. Brooks closed his school there and moved to Springfield, continuing in that town his educational and religious work until his death, at an advanced age in 1880.

When Mr. Cowles established himself in Alton, he ranked among the rich men of that place, his wealth, mostly invested in land and other real estate, being estimated at $50,000, a colossal fortune in those days. He was there, however, but a short time, when the great internal improvement scheme collapsed. The banks had suspended specie payment the year before. In 1839 further work on all the railroads but the Northern Cross, was stopped, and hundreds of men were thrown out of employment. Gold and silver, as money, disappeared, bank notes and State bonds depreciated fifty per cent, and values of all property shrunk well-nigh to the vanishing point. This disastrous condition, together with the Lovejoy riots aftermath, punctured Alton's brilliant bubble of prosperity, prostrated its business, and dissipated its last hope for commercial supremacy on the Mississippi. The law firm of Cowles and Krum maintained its professional prominence at the Alton bar for five years, and then dissolved. Mr. Krum moved to St. Louis, and early in 1844 Mr. Cowles sought a more genial social atmosphere for himself and family in Chicago. In that thriving city

he invested the little capital he had realized from the wreck of his former possession, and formed a new professional partnership with Wm. Henry Brown, which continued for nine years.

In General Palmer's *Bench and Bar of Illinois,* Vol. II, page 624, it is stated that "Mr. Brown was in business for many years in Chicago with Alfred Cowles, an old pioneer lawyer. The firm of Cowles and Brown appears in the City Directory of 1846, under the name of Cowles & Brown, with an office over the old State Bank at the southwest corner of LaSalle and South Water streets." The bond of fellowship uniting that firm was something more than their mutual interest in the practice of law. They were both natives of Connecticut, both members of the Presbyterian church and of the Whig party, and both early pioneers of Illinois. Morever, Louise, the eldest daughter of Mr. Cowles, a beautiful and accomplished girl, scarcely twenty years of age, was engaged to be married to Brown's son, but contracted a severe cold which, developing into quick consumption, speedily consigned her to the grave instead of to the bridal altar.

Wm. H. Brown had studied and practiced law with his father in New York City, but left the East, in 1818, coming to Illinois in company with Samuel D. Lockwood. Landing from a flatboat at Shawneetown, they walked to Kaskaskia, 140 miles, then the State capital. On the way they were overtaken by two young men from New York, about of their ages, named Sidney Breese and Thomas Mather, who were traveling in a hired conveyance, but too small to take them in. The next year, (1819) Brown was appointed Clerk of the U. S. District court, and held that office for sixteen years. In 1835, he was appointed Cashier of a branch of the State Bank at Chicago, to which place he moved and there in time attained wealth and high prominence. On a tour of Europe, with his wife, he was taken down with small pox, at the Bible Hotel, in Amsterdam, and died there on June 17, 1867, aged 72 years.

Mr. Brown's enthusiasm in politics was probably contagious, as in the years of intimate association with him, Mr. Cowles became much more interested in public questions and party matters, than he had before been in Southern Illinois. Manifesting unusual concern and activity for the election of General Taylor to the Presidency, and for the success of the entire Whig ticket, in 1848, Cowles was rewarded for his new-born zeal, in 1849, with the appointment of Register of the U. S. Land Office in Chicago district. In that year, 1849, his eldest son, Frederick, went with the first mad rush of gold seekers, across the plains, to California. Then, a sprightly young man of 27 years, he experienced in the mines of the new El Dorado, the same vicissitudes of thousands of others, finally settling down as a rancher in San Diego, county, where he died, unmarried, in 1905, at the age of 83 years. Until Mr. Cowles was superseded by a Democrat in 1853, his partnership with Mr. Brown continued uninterrupted. He was at that time not far from 66 years old, the age at which most men who have been busily engaged from their youth in the same vocation feel the desire, or necessity, of retirement and rest.

And so it was with him. He was weary of the incessant drudgery of his profession, of the constant mental strain it imposed, and desirous for an opportunity to abandon it.

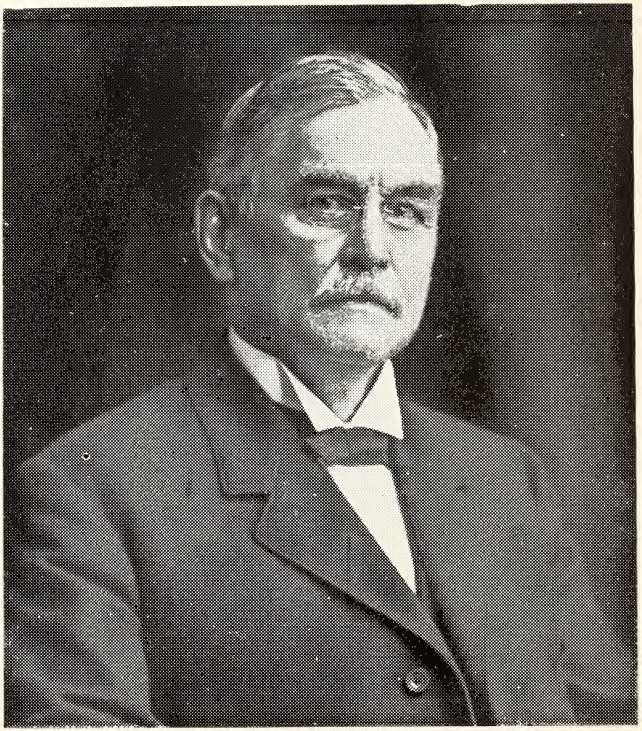
Influenced also, no doubt, by the favorable representations, received from his son Frederick, of the perfect climate of California, and extraordinary advantages found there in every branch of business or industry, Mr. Cowles decided to move there, and escape for the rest of his days the rigors of Illinois winters. Dissolving partnership with Mr. Brown, he settled up his affairs, including the sale of his home, comprising two acres on Chicago Avenue, for the sum of $3,500, and with his family left Illinois, in April, 1853, for the far West. Five months on the way across the plains, traveling as passengers in a train of wagons drawn by mules, they finally reached Sacramento about the middle of September. Halting there long enough to sell his library for several hundred dollars, he proceeded by boat to San Francisco, there purchasing a dwelling house in which the family passed the winter. Not satisfied with the prospects presented to him on the Bay, he went down to the San José Valley, fifty miles south, and bought 25 acres of raw land covered with sycamore trees. Selling his San Francisco property, he moved, in the spring of 1854, to his new real estate in the valley where he set in resolutely to clear off the timber, put the land in cultivation, and establish a permanent home. Fifteen years of his life were passed there as an agriculturist and horticulturist, with the result of converting the wild sycamore plat into a charming residence and highly improved fruit farm, named by his daughters, Rose Lawn. In the meantime, the two girls married, Cornelia becoming the wife of Dr. French, and Elizabeth the wife of Chas. C. Leavitt. Both long since died, Cornelia leaving two children, and Elizabeth four.

By his venerable, dignified, manner and half century of devotion to the legal profession, Mr. Cowles, while a resident of San José, acquired the honorary title of "Judge," by which he was henceforth always addressed. Rose Lawn having with its development marvelously enhanced in value, he finally accepted one of the many tempting offers for it, selling it in 1869 for a handsome sum. Removing that year to San Diego county he invested his means there in real estate that at his death was estimated to be worth $50,000.

When cast adrift from the wreck of the old Whig party in 1856, Judge Cowles very naturally landed in the new Republican organization; but he manifested no more active interest in politics in California than he did in Illinois. Only once did he publicly appear in a political demonstration, when at the age of 93 years he was complimented by a unanimous call to preside as chairman of a Republican county convention. Had his aspirations been in the direction of official distinction, he undoubtedly would have attained high prominence. A constant reader and student, he was a cultured scholar—a walking encyclopedia of useful knowledge, especially well versed in legal learning and English literature. In conversation he was always entertaining and instructive. When extreme old age had retired him from all business activities of

life, he would often sit apart and alone for hours in ruminating mood "in the pleasant companionship of his richly stored mind and varied memories." In 1885, when 98 years old—represented by his portrait accompanying this sketch, taken that year—he greatly enjoyed the visit of two old Illinois friends, Hon. Elihu B. Washburne and Gov. William Bross, who called on him in their tour of recreation on the Pacific coast.

His attachment to rural life contracted at Rose Lawn, led the Judge, on removal to San Diego county, to choose for his new home a farm in Poway valley, twenty miles northeast of San Diego Bay, where he resided until the death of his wife, in 1876, at the age of 86 years. His last change of residence was to the city of San Diego, where he passed the remainder of his days with his youngest son, Alfred E., the only member of his family now living, quietly breathing his last on the 16th of November, 1887, at the age of 100 years, 2 months, and 16 days.



Edward L. Merritt.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE PART SPRINGFIELD BORE IN THE OBSEQUIES OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By Edward L. Merritt.

President Abraham Lincoln was shot to death by the assassin, John Wilkes Booth, during a play at Ford's theatre in Washington City, D. C., on the night of Friday, April 14, 1865, dying at twenty-two minutes past 7 o'clock, Saturday morning, April 15, 1865. The news of the assassination of Mr. Lincoln came during the night of April 14th, and the announcement of his death reached Springfield about 9:00 o'clock in the forenoon of April 15, 1865.

It would be difficult to describe the terrible condition of the public mind on the day when it was known that Abraham Lincoln was no more. To the last moment, a despairing hope had existed that our beloved citizen and president would not die. Strong men were stunned; others were overcome with grief; while others became wild with frenzy. This paralyzing shock came at a time when all were happy in the belief that the dreadful war was over, and many believed that without the guiding hand of Mr. Lincoln the fruits of our victorious armies were lost and chaos would follow. All conditions were desperate on that fateful 15th of April, 1865. Every kind of business was suspended, all the bells in the city were constantly tolled for several days and Springfield "put on sack cloth and ashes" and went into mourning, for Abraham Lincoln, her beloved citizen, was dead.

At 12:00 o'clock, noon, of that dreadful Saturday, only a few hours after President Lincoln had breathed for the last time, a large public meeting spontaneously assembled in the open, at the south front of the State house (now the Sangamon county court house) from which went forth the first sob of heartbreaking anguish to the world because of the horrible crime of this assassin. Since that awful day, forty-four great years of national glory and prosperity have intervened. Thousands of patriotic, loving hearts which would not be comforted, who saw only calamity to the nation in this cruel and heartless murder of the great and good Lincoln, are now with the endless throng. Let us hope they, too, will celebrate Abraham Lincoln's centennial in the realms beyond.

At this gathering, his neighbors and associates, his professional brethren, his political friends and foes, came together with grief bur-

dened hearts and tear dimmed eyes to humbly manifest their great love for their dead friend and neighbor. In this assemblage were lifelong and close friends of Abraham Lincoln; notable men in all walks of life and of national reputations who have contributed so much to blazen the fair name of Illinois high up on the escutcheon of the republic.

With the liability of being considered tedious, I give below many of the names of these eminent citizens; also, the proceedings, including the resolutions adopted at this, the first assemblage of condolence held in the United States.

The Hon. Shelby M. Cullom, with many evidences of bereavement, called the meeting to order and suggested that the Hon. Jesse K. Dubois, then State Auditor, being one of Mr. Lincoln's intimate friends, should preside. Mr. Dubois was unanimously chosen chairman, when the following vice chairmen were elected: The Hon. Stephen T. Logan, Col. John Williams, W. F. Elkin, Elijah Iles, N. H. Ridgely, E. B. Hawley, Thomas Condell, James L. Lamb, Gersham Jayne, Richard Latham, A. G. Herndon, Rev. Albert Hale, and Rev. John G. Bergen. The Hon. James C. Conkling, Edward L. Baker, editor of The State Journal, and Edward L. Merritt, editor of The State Register, were selected as secretaries. The writer of this sketch is the only survivor of all the above named officers of this meeting except Senator Cullom, who called the meeting to order.

The Hon. John T. Stuart, with whom Mr. Lincoln read law and who was afterwards the senior member of his firm, with much emotion, briefly addressed the audience, condoling with the friends and former neighbors of the dead president, pathetically referring to the deep grief that had come to the American people in Mr. Lincoln's taking off, relating interesting incidents connected with his last interview with the President. On his motion, the chair appointed the following named gentlemen as a committee on resolutions: The Honorables John T. Stuart, Shelby M. Cullom, Samuel H. Treat, Milton Hay, Lawrence Weldon, William Jayne, Ozias M. Hatch, Benjamin S. Edwards and Alexander Starne.

The Hon. John T. Stuart, from the committee, reported the following resolutions of condolence, which were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas; We have learned by telegraph from the city of Washington, of the assassination of President Lincoln, and—

"Whereas; We, his neighbors and friends, regard his death as a great and irreparable national calamity, and—

"Whereas; It is fitting that those who knew him best in life, should express their deep distress at his untimely death; be it—

"Resolved, Therefore; That we, his neighbors and friends, without distinction of party, forgetting all past differences of opinion, unite in solemn accord in the expression of our deep sympathy for his family, his friends, our country and the peace of mankind for this, his untimely death, in that hour of our country's struggle, when was to be called into service those high qualities of head and heart, which endeared him as a man and made him distinguished as a President.

"Resolved; That since the unexampled success of our arms, we have with patriotic pride, beheld indications upon the part of Mr. Lincoln of a policy of restoration and union, in the consummation of which the peace of the country and the wonted national integrity would again be restored to our stricken union.

"Resolved; That in this sad national bereavement, it is the duty of all good citizens to rely with confidence and hope on the over-ruling Providence of God, preserve calmness and faithfully submit and adhere to the sovereign laws of the land.

"Resolved; That in the assassination of the Hon. William H. Seward, the country has lost an able, efficient and upright officer, and one whose services as a diplomat will be remembered by a grateful people through every period of coming history. [Secretary of State Seward, although severely wounded by an assassin and reported dead, happily recovered.]

"Resolved; That inasmuch as this city has for a long time been the home of the President, in which he has graced with his kindness of heart and honesty of purpose, all the relations of life, it is appropriate that its "City of the Dead" should be the final resting place of all that on earth remains of him that is mortal, and to this end we respectfully request the appointment of a committee on the part of the city council to act in conjunction with the Governor of the State, with a view of bringing hither his remains for interment."

The only survivors of the committee on resolutions are the Hon. Shelby M. Cullom, United States Senator of Illinois, and Dr. William Jayne of this city.

The remains of the dead president reached Springfield on the 3d of May, accompanied by members of the Cabinet, members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives; distinguished military officers and distinguished citizens from all parts of the United States, including officers of the various states. From Washington to his former home, the whole people were in a state of lamentations. At Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and at all the cities through which the funeral train passed, marked demonstrations of genuine sorrow, love and respect were paid to the memory of the great Lincoln by the people. The remains rested upon a beautiful and somberly decorated catafalque in the old representative chamber of the State House, where they were viewed by over an hundred thousand sorrowing people during the two days they lay in state.

The Capital of Illinois had made elaborate preparations for the last offices of the dead. To consummate a becoming tribute of an affectionate people, money, skill, patience, labor, nothing was spared that Springfield's love offering should be worthy of her great dead. The funeral obsequies of the mortal remains of Mr. Lincoln occurred on the 4th day of May, 1865, and no American ever, up to this time, was laid to rest with more genuine love and distinguished and beautiful honors.

The pallbearers were the Honorables Jesse K. Dubois, Stephen T. Logan, John T. Stuart, James N. Brown, Governor Gustavus Koerner, Judge Samuel H. Treat, Col. John Williams, James L. Lamb, Erastus Wright, Jacob Bunn and Charles W. Matheny. Every one of whom has since been affectionately laid to rest by other pallbearers.

The funeral pageant was the largest and most imposing ever witnessed in the United States. It was made up of military, professional and about every known fraternal and civic organization, embracing eight divisions. All were afoot, except the marshals, their aids, and distinguished guests. The columns of marchers reached from curb to curb and in close order. Gen. Joseph E. Hooker was marshal in chief with Gen. John Cook of this city as chief of staff. (General Cook now is a resident of Michigan.) The late Gen. John A. McClernand of this city, was grand marshal, and rode at the head of the second division followed by the hearse, supported by the following aides: Lieutenant Colonel Schwartz, Captains Henry Jayne, R. Randolph, B. F. Ferguson, Thomas Owen, the Hon. Charles A. Keyes, Dr. J. L. Million, the Hon. William M. Springer, Col. E. E. Myers, Judge A. N. J. Crook, Edward L. Merritt and the Hon. I. N. Higgins. The cortege was of such great numbers and of so great a length that the head of the procession had reached Oak Ridge where the remains of Mr. Lincoln were temporarily deposited in the receiving vault of the cemetery, before more than one-half of it was in line. In this march to the "City of the Dead," scores upon scores of the best musical organizations of the nation were in line, whose funeral dirges cadenced the great wail of a bereft people.

The survivors of the twelve aids to General McClernand today are Capt. Henry Jayne of Taylorville, Ill., the Hon. Charles A. Keyes, Judge A. N. J. Crook and Edward L. Merritt of this city.

The closing ceremonies at Oak Ridge were quite simple and in accord with the plain life of him whose mortal remains were laid to rest. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Albert Hale of this city, followed with appropriate music, in which a choir of hundreds of voices joined. Bishop Simpson of the Methodist church delivered a lengthy and strong funeral oration, fierce in its revengeful and invective denunciation of the southern rebellion leaders. Probably it was more so than would have met the approval of the dead, generous President, but this the times seemed to excuse. After the benediction was pronounced by the Rev. P. D. Gurley of New York city, the vast assemblage of mourners dispersed, sorrowing.

On the day of the funeral, The Lincoln National Monument Association was organized with the Hon. Richard J. Oglesby, Governor of Illinois, as its president. On this day the first subscriptions of money were made for the erection of the magnificent monument which now adorns, in beautiful Oak Ridge, the last resting place of the wise, the good, the generous hearted and great Abraham Lincoln.

In its afternoon issue of the 15th of April, 1865, the following paragraphs of an editorial appeared in The State Register on the death of President Lincoln:

"Just in the hour when the crowning triumph of his life awaited him; when the result which he had labored and prayed for for years with incessant toil, stood almost accomplished; when he could begin clearly to see the promised land of his longings—the restored union—even as Moses, from the top of Pisgah, looked forth upon Canaan he had for forty years been striving to attain, the assassin's hand at once puts a rude period to his life and to his hopes. As Moses of old, who had led God's people through the danger and gloom of the wilderness, died when on the eve of realizing all that his hopes had pictured, so Lincoln is cut off just as the white wing of peace begins to reflect its silvery radiance over the red billows of war. It is hard for a great man to die, but doubly cruel that he should be cut off after such a career as that of him we mourn today.

"But tears and regrets are alike unavailing, and the crushing sense of this great sorrow is all that we can now distinctly feel. We realize that the great Douglas has now a companion in immortality, and that when the roll of statesmen whose genius has left its impress upon the destiny of the country shall be complete, no names will stand higher or shine with purer luster than the two which blaze upon the escutcheon of Illinois."

Also, in the same paper of April 18th, the following editorial paragraph appeared:

"History has recorded no such scene of bloody terror. The murder of monarchs has been written. Cæsar was slain in the senate chamber; Gustavus was butchered in the ball room; but these were usurpers and tyrants, not the chosen heads of a people, empowered to select their rulers. And, O, horrible, that he should have been assassinated when his best efforts to tranquilize the fears and fury of his people were so nearly realized. We are dumb with sorrow."

THE HAYES-TILDEN CONTEST.

By John T. Campbell.

Mr. Campbell is now an inmate of the Soldiers' Home near Lafayette, Ind.

The campaign of 1876 will never be forgotten by those who participated in it. It is now twenty-nine years since our people were on the verge of a French Revolution. A gap unclosed left a place for trouble to break in—that of not providing by law more minutely for the presidential succession. Three-fourths of the voters of today were school boys then, or then unborn. William J. Bryan was only 17 years old. Yet he now has the greatest personal following of any American. The history of that most exciting contest, especially the formation of the Electoral Commission has not yet all been told. Two men who were active participants in that contest have given a history of it, including the count, each from his own partisan standpoint, and they differ materially in what each leaves out. They were Hon. James G. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years of Congress," and Samuel S. (Sunset) Cox, in his "Three Decades of Federal Legislation." The writer was surveying a railroad in Southern Illinois while the great contest was pending, and became acquainted with a member of the Illinois State Senate, who told him that the greenback members, six senators, and three members of the House—then locally called "Texas Steers,"—held the balance of power in the Legislature, and had a scheme to elect Judge David Davis to the United States Senate, which would disqualify him as a member of the Electoral Commission, and after the election was accomplished this senator told the writer how it was brought about. It is to bring out this hitherto unpublished history that this article is written; but to make it intelligible to present day readers, it is necessary to restate briefly the issues in the contest, and the official action taken thereon. Neither Blaine nor Cox gives the correct statement of how Judge Davis came to be elected senator over General John A. Logan. Evidently they did not know.

Late in the night following the election of 1876, United States Senator Zachariah Chandler of Detroit, then chairman of the National Republican Executive Committee, telegraphed the associated press that R. B. Hayes had one hundred eighty-five electoral votes and was elected. The general impression at sundown was that Tilden was ahead. The contest turned largely on the vote of South Carolina, Florida and Louisi-

ana, but at the very last—when a small stone dropped into one side or the other of the balance would tip it,—one electoral vote from Oregon settled it.

The campaign was hot from the start, and a vote so close was bound to be vigorously contested, and was also bound to carry the suspicion of fraud and bribery—more—it was bound to be a great temptation to use bribery and fraud to change the apparent result. The three southern states mentioned sent two sets of returns of the election to Washington. No intelligent person believed there had been a clean, fair, honest vote in those states since and including the vote that carried them into rebellion. Both republicans and democrats set up a vigorous claim to have carried the election, and each charged fraud against the other. The feeling grew hotter from the election in November, to the meeting of Congress in December, when the heat was transferred to and centered in Congress. There it soon took the serious form that all excitements do when rumors become rife and all are believed, especially the more unreasonable and improbable which cannot be traced to any reliable source; such as Henry Watterson preparing to march one hundred thousand democrats to Washington to inaugurate Tilden; the House of Representatives to declare itself to be the really and only representative body of the people, and recognize only Tilden as President; that President Grant intended to use the army to perpetuate himself as President, and many other rumors and surmises. President Grant did place troops in the disputed southern states, and quietly in Washington in anticipation of an outbreak, riot, insurrection and anarchy, and showed his good sense and patriotism as time proved; but was vehemently denounced then as suppressing the freedom of the people. Only democrats were people in the opinion of the democrats. If this strife had not occurred with a generation that had just been through the scourge of the greatest civil war of historic time, it is yet doubtful if the excitement could have been held back from a bloody conflict; so sure did each side feel that it had the right, legal and moral.

Sometime during the session of Congress, J. Proctor Knott, a democratic member of the House from Kentucky ("who immortalized the city of Duluth") submitted a proposition for determining and settling the great dispute, which, after many changes—swelling at first, then shrinking—then changing in form, finally ended in the famous Electoral Commission, composed of five senators, five representatives and five members of the Supreme Court. McCrary of Iowa had first suggested the idea of such a commission, but Knott gave it political life by a resolution. It was easy to select the five senators and five representatives to sit on this commission. The Senate selected three republicans and two democrats, and the House being democratic selected three democrats and two republicans; the party caucas designating the members desired. Senators selected were George F. Edmunds, Vermont; Oliver P. Morton, Indiana; Fred T. Frelinghuysen, New Jersey, republicans; and Thomas F. Bayard, Delaware, and Allen G. Thurman, Ohio, democrats. The House selected Henry B. Payne, Ohio; Eppa Hunton, Virginia; Josiah G.

Abbott, Massachusetts, democrats, and James A. Garfield, Ohio, and George F. Hoar, Massachusetts, republicans. Let the reader bear in mind that each party was insistent on having an equal party representation on the commission. But when it came to selecting the members of the Supreme Court, one member had to be cut into halves to maintain the partisan balance. It had been agreed to begin at Chief Justice Waite, and take the associate justices in the order of their respective commissions; but Chief Justice Waite was promptly objected off of the commission because he had during the previous summer expressed a personal hostility to Mr. Tilden. Then the five associate justices were taken in the order of their commission dates, but later in the order of their politics and their geographical location. This would still include Justice David Davis of Illinois, who was the justice to be cut in halves. As at last agreed, the associated justices were to be Clifford and Field, democrats, and Strong and Miller, republicans. The partisan balance is maintained up to this point. Now comes the tug of war. Judge Davis was originally a republican, but for the past five to ten years had been coquetting with democrats to get their nomination for the presidency. In February, 1872, he was nominated by the Labor Reform party at the Columbus, Ohio, convention for President, with Joel Parker, their Governor of New Jersey, as Vice-president. (The writer was a delegate to that convention). Davis held that nomination by the halter, neither putting it in the stable nor turning it loose—holding it as a pull to get the democratic nomination till it went to Horace Greeley, when he turned the Labor nomination loose. In 1876, he had been quiet for the then last few years, and his politics, so far as the public knew, were zero. Blaine says Davis voted for Tilden at the election of 1876, and democratic Congressman Springer of Illinois (according to Cox) says Davis did not vote at that election.

As both parties were so strenuous in contending for a due partisan representation on the commission, they certainly expected each member of the commission to vote his political bias in the case. That left the whole decision to Judge Davis. The democrats believed he would vote to seat Tilden, and doubtless rightly so. The republicans believed so too, and they were at first strongly opposed to leaving the decision to any commission whatever. They had, as they believed—the *prima facie* case—why should they give their case away? But the popular vote was some two hundred thousand in favor of Tilden, and the electoral vote only one in favor of Hayes, and that strongly disputed.

The Electoral Commission was really a democratic measure. It originated with them and the Senate democrats voted twenty-six for and one against it. The House democrats voted 160 for, and 17 against it. The republican senators voted 21 for and 16 against it; the House republicans voted 31 for and 85 against it. Taking both houses the democrats stood 186 for, and 18 against. The republicans 52 for, and 101 against.

Judge Davis' name was bandied back and forth in Congress, in a way not pleasing or complimentary to him. Democrats denied that he was a democrat. Republicans declared he *was*. He could see that while the

democrats declared him to be a political nobody, they certainly expected him to be a very important political somebody. One democrat said, "Why, only yesterday he was a candidate for United States Senator in the Illinois Legislature against the democrats." Everybody expected each member of the commission to vote to seat the candidate of his party. Senator Morton of Indiana, though a member of the commission, strongly objected to its existence. "Why not leave the matter to the whole Supreme Court?" he said repeatedly. But at last the commission and its members were agreed upon, and it included Judge Davis as the neutral, doubtful, or uncertain member who was to make the real decision. Why not at once discard the other fourteen members? Both houses agreed that the decision of this commission should be binding unless both houses concurred in rejecting it. At first the democrats wanted its decisions to be binding only when concurred in by both houses of Congress, to which the republicans would not agree.

Now, we are up to the surprise that knocked all previous calculations into splinters. Everybody expected Judge Davis to vote to seat Tilden, though for effect the democrats denied that he was a democrat. Republicans expected Tilden to be counted in and had made up their minds to slide down as easily as possible on this greased board—the electoral commission. Sunset Cox, in his "Three Decades" in regard to Judge Davis being taken away from the electoral commission, page 650, says as follows:

"When the proceedings had reached this harmonious stage, a cloud no larger than a man's hand was discerned in the western sky. An Illinois "independent," not having the fear of Gen. John A. Logan before his eyes, cast his vote for Judge Davis for senator. That "independent" little dreamed that his craft bore Caesar and his fortunes; or that he was playing the role of Gen. Monk. The Illinois democrats in the Legislature, gifted with a fatuity beyond their age and generation, with a vision hardly extended beyond their physical organs, swung into line, and the news was flashed over the wires that Judge David Davis had been elected to fill the seat of John A. Logan in the Senate of the United States. That dispatch was pregnant with stupendous significance to the American people, for it meant as the fifth judge on the commission, Joseph P. Bradley. The electoral bill was still pending in Congress, but had either side been inclined to defeat it they could hardly have done so. Both parties were fully committed to it. It is not certain that either party wished to recede. It was plain, however, from that moment democratic hopes went down, and that republican apprehension was succeeded by confidence. Judge Davis' acceptance of the senatorial seat removed him from the probabilities for the fifth judgeship of the commission."

Blaine, in his "Twenty Years of Congress," Vol. II, page 585, speaking of Judge Davis' position in the matter, says: "Originally a republican, Judge Davis had for some years affiliated with the democratic party, and had in the late election preferred Mr. Tilden to Mr. Hayes. Without any imputation of improper motives, there can hardly be a

doubt that the democrats, in their almost unanimous support of the electoral bill, believed that Judge Davis would be selected, and by a parity of reasoning the large republican majority against the bill might be attributed to the same cause. But an unlookedfor event disturbed all calculations and expectations. On the 26th of January the House was to vote on the electoral bill, and a large majority of the members were committed to its support. To the complete surprise of both parties it happened that Judge Davis was elected senator from Illinois the preceding afternoon, January 25th. Chosen by the democratic members of the Legislature, reckoned as a democratic senator elect, there was an obvious impropriety, which Judge Davis saw as quickly as others, in his being selected; and the four judges agreed unanimously upon Joseph P. Bradley (republican) as the fifth judicial member of the commission."

This made eight republicans to seven democrats on the commission, where everybody a few hours before expected the reverse.

The following account of how Judge Davis came to be elected United States Senator, as before stated, was given the writer at the time by a greenback, or "independent," State senator, and confirmed lately by letters in answer to enquiries concerning it. The substance of the letters is here given to avoid extraneous matter.

General Logan was a candidate to succeed himself in the United States senate. He had voted for the measure denounced as the "salary grab." He received the republican caucus nomination unanimously, but one republican, Marshall of Will county, deserted him after a few ballots, and could not be coaxed back.

The democrats nominated Gen. John M. Palmer for senator, and the independents (greenbacks or "steers") nominated Gen. William B. Anderson, who was still serving in Congress. The "steers" in the Legislature could not be voted as a unit for anybody. One, Haines of Chicago, persisted in voting for Capt. William H. Parish of Saline county, who was a "steer." One democrat from Jefferson county could not be induced to come to the support of the "steer," Anderson, and he influenced other democrats not to compromise on him. When the balloting for senator had become irksome, General Palmer invited Captain Parish to his room in the Leland hotel, and there confided to him that he (Palmer) was going to withdraw from the contest. This information was soon distributed through the members of the Legislature. The three "steers" in the House had been for several ballots, voting for Judge Davis instead of their own Anderson, as supported by the six "steers" in the senate. As soon as the word that Palmer would withdraw had passed around, the "steers" and democrats began a free and easy talk among themselves, speculating about what would turn up next. In these informal discussions, the democrats proposed that they would write five names and the "steers" might accept or select one of the five and the democrats would join in his election. "No," said the "steers," "but we will write five names and you democrats may select one and we will join in his election." These propositions seemed near accomplishment, but finally ended in talk. There was a strong effort made the next day to stampede the

joint session, first to one dark horse then to another, but without success. Much confusion and excitement prevailed, and in the forenoon of the day preceding the election, Captain Parish (a "steer") made a bold guess and uttered it in a bold remark to a group of democratic senators: "There will be no election today, but tomorrow a senator will be elected, and on the first ballot." This remark soon permeated the whole democratic membership of the Legislature. The next morning (January 25th) three democratic senators came to Captain Parish and asked if it was still his opinion that a senator would be elected that day. On his affirmative answer, they asked him whom they (the "steers") had to offer them (the democrats). He answered in a confident manner, "Judge Davis." The group of democratic senators received the proposition with favor, and sent word to the House democrats to line up at once for Judge Davis and he would be elected. It was at once agreed that the democrats and greenbackers ("steers") should march in pairs from the Senate to the House chamber for the joint ballot. Parish and Mr. Archer from Pike county led the procession. Their serene, confident manner showed that something had been decided on. Archer's name was called first, and at the end of the call Judge Davis was elected.

That day at the dinner table a democratic member, Mr. Washburn, said to Captain Parish, "Well, we have saved our son." "Yes," said Captain Parish, "but you have lost Rome." "What?—what do you mean by that expression?" asked Mr. Washburn. "I mean," said Captain Parish, "that Davis will not serve on the commission and Hayes will win."

Captain Parish had been a republican, and though at the time a "greenback"—"independent"—"steer," he did not believe the time had come to turn this government over to the democratic party, with the elements then dominating it. While the move to elect Davis was on he feared to trust his lips to speak until the danger was past lest the democrats should bethink themselves as to what they were doing.

DESCRIPTION OF SPRINGFIELD.

By Zimri Enos.

The first settlements in the territory now included within the city of Springfield were made in 1819 and '20 by John and William Kelley, Andrew Elliott, Jacob and Levi Ellis, Abraham Lanterman, John Lindsey, Samuel Little and Mr. Daggett. Their nine cabins were scattered along on both sides of a line over two miles in length north and south. Its being the thickest settlement in the new county of Sangamon created by an Act of Legislation in 1821, was one of the inducements, as well as its beautiful location and its surroundings, for the commissioners, Zachariah Peter, William Drennan and Rivers Cormack, appointed to locate the temporary county seat, selecting Springfield as the place. The stake they drove in the prairie near John Kelley's cornfield and near what is now the northwest corner of Second and Jefferson streets, was the site of the temporary county seat and the place where the log cabin court house was built. I remember this log cabin. It remained there some time after the frame court house was built at the northeast corner of Sixth and Adams streets. This location was in the middle of a handsome undulating prairie nook, a mile in length east and west and a half mile north and south, thoroughly drained by never failing spring branches and bordered on the north and west by heavy timber and on the south by a number of beautiful groves of young forest trees, of pin oak, elm, cherry and hackberry, which were festooned with grape vines and fringed with plum and haw bushes, crab-apples, hazel nuts, alders and blackberries, and encircled by millions of strawberry vines.

At that early day and for a number of years after, the timber line on the north along both sides of the Kelley branch extended from what is now Sixth and Elms streets on the north side of the branch nearly with the lines of Elm and Pine streets and Calhoun avenue to the east side of Bond street, then a little east of north a fourth of a mile and then east along the south side of the Watson branch, now called the Converse branch, to Arthur Watson's house, now Mr. William Converse's residence. In the west side of this little prairie nook were located William Kelley and Andrew Elliott. On the south side of the Kelley branch the timber line extended from Sixth and Elm streets southwest to Fifth and Union streets, then west with Union and Miller

Reading from left to right—James H. Matheny, Samuel Baker, W. Gibson Harris, Zimri A. Enos.
(Picture taken sometime between 1840-1845.)

streets to Rutledge street and west of Rutledge street to the town branch. The forest along the Kelley branch and west of Rutledge and Bond streets was heavy timber. Very few of the old trees are now left, but many of the original young growth that are now good sized trees are to be found, such as the pin oaks between Fifth and Sixth streets, south of Elm, the walnuts and other native trees in the Edwards, Fox, Gehrman, Logan, Reisch, Mendenhall premises and the old Kuhn and Ackerman brewery grounds. The timber line from Lewis street for at least a block south of Washington street extended for as much as a half mile west to where it curved south to the north side of the Lindsey branch, now known as the Williams branch. This branch forked west of West Grand avenue, one fork running from the northeast and the other from the southeast. On the south side of the north fork was Mr. Lanterman's house, about where Mr. Carroll's residence now is, and some 300 yards south on the other fork was Esquire Lindsay's house. The two Ellises, from the best information I can get, were located in the edge of the timber south of Washington street and between West Grand avenue and Lincoln avenue. And Mr. Daggett, south of Washington and west of Pasfield street. Along the Town branch to the east there was no heavy timber. Some fine old large trees were thinly scattered along the bottom and bluff slopes, especially on the north side, which was a longer and gentler grade from the branch, than the south.

The branch running close to the foot of the bluffs on the south made a number of prominent bluffs or knolls between the ravines from the south that were thickly covered with a young growth of timber, brush and grape vines. The first of these groves was the old grave yard, now the high school grounds. The second was the John B. Watson grove, settled by him in 1829, afterward the Mather property and now the State House grounds. The third was the George Forquer grove between Second and Third streets, settled in 1830, now the Prickett property (Supreme Court building). The fourth grove and the largest of all was between Third and Sixth streets and Jackson and Cook streets, its centre being the present ground of the Governor's Mansion. These groves, as I have before described, were composed almost entirely of young timber and surrounding thicket. Much of this grove east of Fifth street was cut down and grubbed out by Mr. John Dryer, who started a nursery there in 182—, the first in Sangamon county, and which subsequently became Knapp's addition. Some few of the young growth of timber was left on Sixth street, south of Edwards, on what is known as the Eastman property. On the north side of the Town branch, the scattering timber extended north to Washington and east to Third street. West of Third street and for about a half block on both sides of Adams street was a grove of young timber, the center being the high ground at the southeast corner of Second and Adams streets. In this grove on the west side of Third street, a little less than a half block north from Adams street, I attended the first out of door religious meeting ever held to my knowledge in Springfield. Who the preacher was, whether Lorenzo Dow, or some one else, I don't remember. The heavy timber

yielded an abundant supply of hickory nuts and walnuts and the best only were selected for the winter supply. At the proper season along the edge of the timber strawberries, blackberries, plums and hazelnuts were plentiful and in a short time persons could gather all they wanted. In the heavy timber on the south side of Kelley branch between what is now First and Third streets, we small boys used to go to gather May apples and dig ginseng and turkey peas. I doubt if there are many now living that have ever seen turkey peas, or know what they were. They were a small bulbous root, about a half inch in diameter, in shape of an onion, very pleasant tasting and grew not over an inch deep in the ground. They, with the artichoke, were abundant along the prairie drains and bottom lands, but vanished as the hog supplanted the deer.

In the south part of the southeast quarter of section 28, about the tanyard, was a pretty little sugar camp containing quite a number of fine sugar trees. And down along the north side of the Town branch, on the blue grass slope in the open timber of chinquapin and sugar trees extending north from the branch across the present Madison street and including lots 7, 8 and 9, of Pascal P. Enos' first sub-division, was the old Indian camping ground, where they camped on their annual trading and begging trip to Springfield. On such occasions, they would go around the town to the best looking houses and dance and beg for something to eat. They were given bread, bacon and corned beef, which they regarded as rarities and luxuries. This place was also the ball ground of the bigger boys and occasionally the place for public meetings and speaking. On the south side of the branch, from the Indian camping ground in lots of Erastus Wright's addition, was the old stone quarry from which all the stone was obtained that was used in the town for walling wells and cellars, making jambs and hearths and backs for the wooden daubed chimneys and door steps.

The town branch at that date and for some time after the deep snow was a constantly running stream of pure spring water, with deep pools and gravelly riffles along its course and fed from innumerable springs directly or from small branches which emptied into it. One of these pools, the largest, was known as the baptizing hole and was the bathing place for men and boys. It was in the northeast corner of the grounds of the Governor's mansion and Jackson street. I have seen fish a foot long caught there and the boys used to catch fish in the deep holes along the branch. There was another deep hole near Seventh street where the combined waters of several prairie swales and drains had been able to cut through the tough sod and form a channel some 4 or 5 feet deep. The fall of the water at this place from off the sod had scooped out a deep place, so deep that we small boys were afraid to go in it. Of the various spring branches that ran into the town branch, going from the west to the east, the first entered the town branch about 100 feet west of Pasfield street and had its beginning in a prairie drain heading in Second street at the northeast corner of the Third Ward school house lot and running thence to the southwest corner of First and Mason streets, thence in a channel to the northeast corner of Madison and Klein streets, thence across Madison to Mill street at the alley on the

east side—thence along the east side of Mill street to Jefferson street, thence southwest and west about 150 feet and then direct to its junction with the town branch. Along this branch were located two of the first settlers, John Kelley on the east side, at the top of the hill, in a double log house surrounded with big sugar trees and situated near the southeast corner of Block —, Mason's Addition, and on the northwest corner of Jefferson and Klein, his brother.

In the branch on the west side of the block and adjoining Jefferson street on the north side was the Ox Tread wheel grist mill for grinding wheat and corn built by Col. Thomas Cox shortly after he came to Springfield as Register of the Land Office in 1823. I think it perhaps was the first tread wheel mill in the county. On the south side of Jefferson street and a little west of the mill was Cox's distillery. It was buried under the sidewalk and some forty years ago I had occasion to use it in a survey and dug down and found it; the logs then were not all decayed. Further down the branch on its west side, at its junction with the town branch was the tanyard started by Proctor and sold by him to John Wood. The vats were along the north side of the town branch in a little bottom flat and the bark shed and currying house was on a slight elevation adjoining to the north. The large dwelling house was on the east side of the tannery and branch. Along the little branch I call to mind two incidents that were important in their day. The first was a barbecue held in a pretty sugar tree grove, extending along both sides of the branch in the block bounded by First and Klein and Mason and Madison streets, and seeing the roasting of the meat over the pits filled with hot coals; of what was the date or occasion for this demonstration, I have no knowledge. I only know it was at a very early date, for I was too small to be trusted there alone. The second was the mustering the volunteers for the Winnebago war in 1828. They formed in line east and west about where the Third Ward school house is, for the mustering in and while I was hurrying out on North Second street to see the ceremony and had gotten half a block north of Madison street, Colonel Thomas Neale, the commander, came galloping out by me, braided and striped, brass buttons, epaulets, cock hat and plume, sword belt and spurs. I was so dazzled and captivated by this splendid display and my military enthusiasm so aroused, that for a good while after I spent my time, slaying Indians, galloping around our lot a-straddle of my stick horse, with a chick feather in my hat and a splinter for a sword tied with a string to my side.

The next tributary brook entered the town branch at Washington and Pasfield streets and extended in a channel south through what was early known as Newsomeville (now Thomas Lewis' Third Addition) as far as Monroe street and by swale drainage as far as Edwards street. This brook is now sewered on nearly its exact course or line all the way to Edwards street and known as the Pasfield sewer. On this brook was erected a smaller tannery.

The third brook, the largest of all entered the town branch from the north at the northwest corner of Adams and First streets. It had two forks, one had its source in a prairie swale beginning a little northeast

of the northwest corner of Madison and Sixth streets and flowed southwest to the northwest corner of Jefferson and Fifth streets, thence diagonally to the south side of the alley at Fourth street, thence in a channel to the northwest corner of Washington and Third streets, thence along Washington street 130 or 140 feet to its junction with the other fork and it ran over the ground now occupied by the Reisch building at the northwest corner of Madison and Sixth streets, the Illinois Central passenger depot, the Lanphier block on Fifth street, the hall at the northwest corner of Jefferson and Fifth, the St. Nicholas hotel, the Silas hotel and the C. & A. station. The other fork was the outlet for three prongs or drains. One started in Second street just south of the alley between Reynolds and Mason streets, and drained to a point on the west side of Third street, a block north of Madison street, where it was joined by a second prong which headed up on the east side of Fourth street, a block further north. They ran south along the west side of Third street, and were joined by the third prong about 100 feet south of Madison street, which headed up on the east side of Fourth street, a little north of Madison street. The combined waters continued south to a point about 120 feet north of Jefferson street, where they crossed the west line of Third street, and formed a deep wide channel that was full of springs and where I spent much of my early childhood days. The brook ran thence almost in a straight line to its connection with the other fork at Washington street, the combined forks continued on a curved course southwest to the alley at Second street between Washington and Adams and thence in nearly a direct line to the junction with the town branch. The Western hotel and the Vredenburgh lumber office and lumber house are directly on the last described fork.

The fourth started in a drain heading on the west side of Spring street south of Jackson street, and running northeasterly entering Second street, very near Charles street, forming a channel in Second street and discharging into the town branch a little south of Monroe street. It was in the hollow of this ravine east of Spring street that Van Noy was hung.

The fifth branch commenced with a prairie drain heading a little north and east of the intersection of Washington and Seventh streets and running thence through the lot at the southeast corner of Washington and Sixth streets, where the First National bank is located, thence through the southeast part of the public square, thence across Adams street and through the lots at the southeast corner of Adams and Fifth streets, over the ground now occupied by five or six big stores, thence across Fifth to near the alley on the west side where it commenced forming a channel, thence southwesterly across Monroe street and the lots of the Odd Fellows building at the southeast corner of Monroe and Fourth streets—thence through the south part of the block west of Fourth street and emptied into the town branch at Capitol avenue and Third street. This brook or drain is filled up and built over its entire length.

The sixth ravine commenced in a prairie sag at Fourth street and ran northwesterly across Allen and Third street, then curving to the east of

north ran in nearly a straight line to the intersection of the west line of Third street about 150 feet south of Jackson street where it channeled and crossed Third and Jackson streets between Fourth and the Bettie Stuart Institute and connected with the town branch. This ravine has been entirely filled.

The seventh ravine had its beginning on the north side of Adams street between Eighth and Ninth streets, and running southwesterly across Adams, Eighth and Monroe streets, through the engine house and city hall grounds, across Seventh street to the north and rear of the First Presbyterian church, across Capitol avenue and Sixth streets to the south side of Sangamon alley and thence to the town branch at the east side of Fifth street and formed a channel for about a block and a half, now all filled up.

The eighth ravine started in a prairie drain at Fourth street, between Scarritt and Allen streets, and ran a northeasterly course across Fifth and Scarritt streets, and then nearly parallel with Fifth street to the west side of the alley on the north side of Cook street—thence across the alley and Edwards street to the town branch west of Sixth street.

The ninth ravine started on the east side of Eighth street about at Allen street and ran a little west of north to Eighth street, thence along Eighth street to the town branch at a little north of Cook street. That part in Eighth street has been sewered. Of the two big ravines that formed the town branch, the north or main fork had its beginning in a prairie pond at Fifteenth street between Jackson and Edwards streets and ran southwesterly across Edwards, Fourteenth, Thirteenth, Twelfth, Eleventh and Tenth streets to its junction with the South Fork near the east side of Ninth street and a little north of Cook street. The South Fork had its start from the prairie ponds along Twelfth and Thirteenth streets, the main drain heading at Thirteenth and Nebraska streets and running northwesterly to its junction with the north fork at Cook and Ninth streets.

On the north of the original town was the Kelley branch, which had its origin in a prairie drain starting a little east of Eighth street and north of Enterprise street and running a little south of west across Eighth and Enterprise streets and north of Elm street across Seventh street to the southwest corner of Sixth and Elm streets, thence in a channel to a point about 100 feet east of Fifth street, at Dodge street. At this point, it was joined by another branch from the southeast that was channeled (in a curve, bending south), as far as Sixth and is now sewered, the Second ward new school house is over the sewer, then crossing the street and northeast corner of Sixth and Enos avenue and heading at Seventh and Miller streets. There was another little ravine that emptied into this, that started between Seventh and Eighth streets and ran through the north part of the McClernard school lot, that formed a channel at the east side of Sixth street, but is now filled its whole length. From the point 100 feet east of Fifth street, the branch ran to the northeast corner of Fifth and Dodge streets, then circled a little north of Dodge to Fourth street, then back again crossing Dodge at the south side of the railroad bridge, then southwest across Third

street to West Dodge street, thence along Dodge street to First street, thence along the north side of Dodge street to Rutledge street, thence southwesterly across Rutledge, the Reisch Brewery lot and Herndon street, to about a half block south of Herndon street, then a little south of west across Bond, Walnut and West Miller streets, to its junction with the town branch at Salome avenue, some fifty feet south of Miller street. The Kelley branch is now sewered nearly on its original course from its outlet to Sixth and Elm streets. The third drain into Kelley branch on the south side, going east, started on the south side of Union street, between Fourth and Fifth streets and ran northwest across Union street, the southwest part of the Edwards lot, Fourth and Third streets, and discharged into the Kelley branch a short distance west of Third street. The Fourth ravine started from the south side of Carpenter street between Klein and Rutledge streets and ran northwest across Carpenter, Rutledge and Miller streets to the Kelley branch, forming a channel through the last block. The fifth ravine started from the south side of Carpenter street at the west line of Mason's addition and ran north across Carpenter and Miller streets to the Kelley branch, forming a channel in Herndon and Edwards addition. The sixth ravine started at the alley south of Carpenter street, just east of the west side of Kessler's addition and ran north across Carpenter street along the west side of Taylor street and across west Miller street into the Kelley branch.

On the north side of the Kelley branch, the first drainage into it was a large branch which started in a prairie drain at Fifth and Rafter streets and ran southwest across Fourth and Third streets to the north side of Pine street, west with line of Pine some 200 feet in a channel (immediately north was the residence of William Kelley, one of the first settlers, and Mr. Gehrman's brick dwelling is on nearly the same ground) then running southwest across Pine, Second and First and connects with the main branch at the alley between First and Klein streets and is sewered from outlet to Pine street. The second drain started west of First street and north of Calhoun avenue and ran southwest across the avenue and Klein streets to the branch midway between Klein and Rutledge streets. The third was a two-pronged ravine, both beginning at Calhoun avenue, one at Bond, the other at Walnut street, and running across Hay and Herndon streets to the Kelley branch.

The original town with its two additions, the County Commissioners' addition in 1825 and John Taylor's west addition in 1826, the only additions previous to the deep snow of 1831, were located on this beautiful undulating, well drained prairie nook, with not a pond or marshy place in it, but one small one in Seventh street, on the north side of Adams street, which, when full, drained west to the ravine running through the public square. And had the branches been kept open and ravines channeled to their heads, Springfield would never have gotten the reputation of being a mud hole and become a subject of comment as such all over the state. But a mistaken idea of beauty, utility and economy got hold of some of our early village fathers, that the streets,

to be beautiful and useful, should be brought to as near a level as possible and that a great saving of expense in bridging could be made by filling up the branches and ravines at the street intersections.

Of the first settlers of the town, now the City of Springfield, prior to its location as the county seat in 1821, I personally knew William Kelley, Andrew Elliott, Abraham Lanterman, esq., John Lindsey. John Kelley died and Levi and Jacob Ellis moved to Fulton county in 1823, the year we came to Springfield. Of Mr. Daggett, I have no knowledge or information. Mr. Samuel Little, grandfather of Gershom J. Little, who settled on what is now the Leland farm, I also knew. And of those who were here before or at the time of the location of the county seat, Dr. Gershom Jayne came in 1820. I knew Charles Matheny, James Adams, Erastus Wright, Elijah Iles in 1821. And also, those here in 1822, prior to the platting and recording the town plat, John Taylor, Elijah Slater, Thomas Price, Mrs. Hawley.

For the little two-room houses of that date, the sills, posts, plates, joists were all hewn, squared and dressed from small trees; the studding and rafters from straight saplings, the weather boarding made from clapboards dressed with the drawing knife. The shingles made and shaved in the woods—the laths also in the timber—the flooring sawed by hand with the whip saw; all the materials were home made, except the brass and nails.

Settlement of Springfield and Slavery in Springfield.

The first settlement in Illinois by American population was made in the southern part of the State by immigrants, almost exclusively from the slave states, and extended gradually north to the middle of the State. Many of the well-to-do first immigrants brought with them their slaves, and held them as such, and the relation of master and servant was by common consent recognized. Some of the first settlers of Sangamon county brought with them one or more slaves. One of the Kirkpatricks brought with him his colored boy Titus; Col. Thomas Cox, two girls, Nance and Dice; Daniel Cutright his boy Major; Dr. Todd, his colored woman Phoebe, and George Forquer his boy Smith. These colored persons were known and called by the surnames of their masters, the same as in the slave states. That this condition of servitude was recognized in the community is evidenced by the mortgages, judgments, levies, appraisement and final public sale of Nance and Dice Cox. They were, after the sale, called Nance and Dice Taylor, the name of their new master. This sale created a great amount of talk and sympathy, not for the two girls, but for Mrs. Cox and her two children, who were of the best and most intelligent class of the early settlers. They were turned out of house and home, stripped of nearly everything and compelled to take shelter in a little deserted log cabin a mile and a half from town.

Colonel Cox, when he first came to Springfield in 1823, was a man of recognized ability and standing in the State, and was appointed by President Monroe, Register of the Land Office at this place. He bought out the Kelley improvements and entered the one-quarter section upon which

they were located, and which at that time was considered the choice one-quarter of the four quarter sections that embraced the town plat, the outlots and subdivisions before mentioned. He immediately engaged in some expensive improvements for that day of limited means, such as his mill, distillery, his hewn log dwelling house with a hall and brick chimneys, one of the finest houses in the county. He also erected a two-story building adjoining the back of his dwelling. For what purpose it was constructed, I never understood, perhaps for his Register office. I remember going up an outside stairway on the east side into a printing office in the second story, most likely Hooper Warren's establishment. These improvements and the purchase of the Kelley building involved him in considerable indebtedness. But the great misfortune that happened him at this time and, that finally ruined him, was that he became too great a patron of his own distillery. He acquired so great a passion for, and indulged to such an extent in liquor, that he became totally incapacitated and indifferent to his business and suffered all his property to be covered with mortgages, judgments, liens, and executions, and it was to satisfy two of these judgments and executions that these girls were finally put up at public auction and sold. Many persons would regard this as but the dream of a six year old boy, and would not believe it, but the facts were so indelibly impressed upon my mind, that I went to the Circuit Clerk's office, and giving him the names and dates, the old records were soon found. Circuit Clerk Jones kindly furnished me with the copies, that are hereby attached.[1] Colonel Cox shortly after moved to the lead mines, and then across into Iowa, where he reformed and became a leading citizen, and was elected presiding officer of one of its legislative bodies.

The name of one of these judgment creditors mentioned in the records, Nathan Cromwell, a merchant who came here about the year 1825, and had a store in a little frame building on the north side of Jefferson st., and on the west side of lot 8, Block 6, reminds me of another incident in which he figured. He had a very handsome wife of whom he was quite proud. One of the citizens had said something to or about her that excited his anger so much, that he loaded a pistol and took his wife with him and went to the man's house and pointing the pistol at the man's breast demanded of him to get down on his knees and beg his wife's pardon, or he would shoot him, which the man had to do to save his life. This incident caused great excitement and gossip in the little town and was for a long time the topic of conversation.

Town of Springfield.

During the two years that intervened between the locating of the temporary county seat in 1821 and the survey and platting of the original town of Calhoun, now Springfield, in 1823, a few cabins and outhouses had been built on a line east and west with Major Iles' store,

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1. Nance, $151. Sold 12th of July, 1827. Dice, $150.
John Howard (I think). bought by John Taylor, Commission on Sale, $15.40.

at the southeast corner of Second and Jefferson streets, and John Kelley's improvements at the northwest corner of Klein and Jefferson streets. When the town was surveyed, in order not to interfere with these cabins and improvements, this line was made the base of the survey and called Jefferson street and all the other streets and alleys were parallel with or at right angles to it without any regard to the government section lines. And for the same reason, the north and south streets were also located to suit these improvements, thus making the streets and blocks of unequal dimensions in the west part of the town in which all these improvements were located, and all varying about two degrees from the section lines. The town, as thus surveyed, was located on four quarter sections of the four different sections—27, 28, 33 and 34, township 16, north range 5 west, 3d P. M. The section corner common to the four sections being about twenty feet south of Washington street and nearly half way between First and Second streets. The four proprietors of the town were Elijah Iles, Thomas Cox, John Taylor and Pascal P. Enos. Elijah Iles entered the southwest quarter section of section 27; Thomas Cox, the southeast quarter of section 28; John Taylor, the northeast quarter of section 33, and Pascal P. Enos, the northwest quarter of section 34. Three of these entries were made on the 7th of November, 1823, and were the first that were made at the opening of the land office in Springfield.

The town as surveyed, platted and recorded, was bounded by Madison street on the north, First street on the west, Monroe street on the south, and Seventh street on the east, and was located, with the exception of a part of the west four blocks, all on the southwest quarter of section 27, and the northwest one-half of section 34, and nearly equally on these two quarter sections. The remainder of these quarter sections 27 and 34, not included in the recorded plat, was cut up into out lots of block and a street in width and extending north from Madison street and south from Monroe to the quarter section lines, excepting the lots adjoining the section and quarter section lines on the east and west, which varied in width. Many of the first conveyances designate these tracts as out lots. And Major Iles so stated that they were thus laid out and designated in his testimony in the suit of David Spear vs. John Hay as to the line between lots 3 and 4, block 8, of the original town. The northeast quarter of section 33 was divided into tracts of 6⅔ chains in width, east and west, except the west tract, which was 7½ chains, and all extending north and south the whole length of the quarter section. The southeast quarter of section 28, which was principally timber, was cut up into four tracts. The three timber tracts were bounded by the line of Jefferson street on the north and on the east by what is the west line of Mason's addition. The prairie tract being the balance of the quarter section, included Mason's addition, and the mill and distillery lots, now known as Barrow's addition.

The four proprietors then conveyed to each other or their assigns, an interest in their several entries, so that each had an interest in the whole town, out lots and sub-division of the four quarter sections.

Mills.

Of the grist mills of that date, the earliest, perhaps, was Kirkpatrick's, situated on the rear of lot 5, block 15, O. T. P. It ceased to be used as a mill before I was old enough to have seen it in operation. I only remember it in connection with the hitching of Mr. Wright's elk in it, as I will later relate. The shed and big posts remained for many years after. Cox's tread mill for grinding both wheat and corn was situated on the north side of Jefferson and in Mill street, as previously mentioned. Besides these, there were two other horse mills for grinding corn, within what is now the city limits. Esq. Lindsay's mill, located about 100 yards a little south of west of the Col. Williams dwelling, on the forty acres in the southwest corner of West and South Grand avenues, and Andrew Lasswell's mill on Lincoln avenue, a little south of the Dubois school house. I remember going with my father to both of these mills.

Besides the tanyard before mentioned, there was a smaller one started by Mr. Proctor on the branch in Newsomeville and south of Adams street.

In connection with the tanneries, the mechanics, who used the leather, would be suggested. The first regular shoe maker was Jabez Capps, whose store and shop was on the north side of Jefferson, between First and Second streets, and who came here before 1826, and then on the south side of Jefferson, between Second and Third streets. John Sherrill resided and had his shop on the south side of Jefferson street, eighty feet west of First street. Another shoemaker was Jacob Plank, who came in 1826.

The first saddler was Thomas Strawbridge, who came in 1824, and had his shop, a little frame building, on the N. E. corner of Jefferson and Fourth streets. The next was Asbury Saunders, who came in 1828. The first hatter was William Alvey, who came in 1825. The first blacksmith was Jacob Ellis, who came in 1819, and moved away in 1825.

The second was John White, who came in ——. The third Alex. Tompkins, who came in 1827, and located on the N. E. corner of Third and Adams streets. The fourth, Owen and Rames, who came in the spring of 1830.

At about the time of the permanent location of the county seat, some four or five two room one story buildings were erected, with gable ends to the street, on the north side of Jefferson and west of Second street, which were occupied for stores and, before 1830, two more stores were built east of Second street. On the south side of Jefferson and Second streets, at the S. E. corner, was Major Iles' store—the first opened in Springfield. Some 100 feet east was the first two story brick store where P. C. Canedy opened the first book and drug store. At the S. W. corner of Jefferson and Second was Carpenter's grocery store, and some 90 feet or more distant was John Taylor's one story brick store and land office—the first brick building erected in the place. The intersection of Jefferson and Second streets was the business center of the town, and had by the order of the county court of date of March, 1822, been declared public

ground as follows: Ordered by the Court that 14 rods east and west including the street and 12 rods north and south including the street in the town of Springfield on which the Court House now stands, be set apart for public purposes and the accommodation of Court House and public buildings. This became the public arena where the fistic champions of the county met on Saturdays, to test their physical manhood; and where neighborhood quarrels were adjourned to be settled by the wager of battle. Often the whole fighting element of one neighborhood would be arrayed against another neighborhood, as for instance, South Fork and Flat Branch against Richland and Clay Grove; or Spring Creek against Lake Fork. On such occasions it was not uncommon for a dozen battles to be going on at the same time.

During the intervening time between the temporary location of the county seat and the survey of the town, there were erected three taverns, namely, Slater's, on Lot 5, Block 5, at the N. E. corner of Jefferson and Second streets. Thomas Price's three room log tavern with kitchen, on Lot 3, Block 7, south side of Jefferson, between First and Second streets, and Andrew Elliot's log tavern on Lot 1, Block 7. In addition there were three hewn log houses, viz: the house bought by P. P. Enos, when he came to Springfield in 1823, located on Lot 7, Block 5, a two story double cabin with a porch kitchen; Thos. Cox's, double cabin with porch kitchen, on Lot 6, Block 6; and John Taylor's, on Lot 2, Block 7. These were the fine residences of the town, and had brick chimneys and were chinked and daubed with lime mortar.

Early School Experience.

INCIDENTS IN MY EARLIEST RECOLLECTIONS OF SPRINGFIELD.

I remember going to school in a little old round-log cabin, situated on the top of the hill on the north side of what is now Washington street and between Pasfield and Lewis streets. At that time there was no recognized street west of First street but Jefferson, and no dwelling house on that part of Jefferson street on the south side but those of John Sherril, Thomas Neale and Thomas Vandagrif. William Fagan's cabin was a little southwest about on the line of Washington street. On the north side of Jefferson there was but one house, the double log house of John Kelley, then occupied by Alexander Cox. The road to the school house turned off from Jefferson street, opposite to Klein street, and ran southwest to the crossing of the town branch at Washington and Pasfield streets. There was no bridge over the branch, and only some small logs laid lengthwise with the branch for the use of wagons in crossing. The road continued on the same course south of west, and the path from the branch to the school house turned to the right from the road, and went up to the top of the hill to the school house in the center of a thicket of hazelnuts, crabapples, plumbushes and grapevines, where a space some 40 or 50 feet square had been cleared off and a cabin built. Its dimensions were about 14 by 16 feet, with door on the east side, a stick and

mud chimney at the north end, and one log cut out some 6 or 8 feet on both the south and west sides for windows, and slabs for benches, and rough boards for desks.

Andrew Orr was said to have taught the first school in Springfield and in this school house. Of this I know nothing but by hearsay. I was so young when I went to this school, that very few events connected with it are fixed in my memory. I remember the teacher, as a threat to punish a scholar, told me to go out and get a switch. I took him at his word and went out and hunted around and finally picked up a hazel switch some 4 or 5 feet long, and over one-half inch thick, and brought it to him, which created such a laugh among the scholars at my expense, that I remember the circumstance. I also remember the high stake and rider fence, not more than a hundred feet west of the school house, around the lot in which Mr. Erastus Wright kept his elk, and of climbing up on that fence to see the elk. The elk was trained to ride or work in harness, and Mr. Wright at one time hitched it to Kirkpatrick's horse mill, (located on the rear of Lot 5, Block 15, O. T. P.) to do some grinding. Quite a crowd of men and boys had gathered to see the elk work, but he soon broke loose and started at hot speed for his pen, with the men, boys and dogs after him shouting and barking. I saw from our house the start of the race, and heard the noise. If the date 1824, given in Mr. Wright's life as the time he purchased his elk (giving for it 80 acres of land in the Military Tract) is correct, these incidents could not have happened later than the summer or fall of 1825.

There is but one other incident connected with that school that I remember. It was in cold weather, when the children were crowding around the fire to warm, that a cousin of mine, three years older than myself, who was living in our family, as there was no school in his neighborhood, was pushed into the fire and his wrist was very badly burned. This must have occurred in the winter of 1825 and 26, as I find among my father's papers a receipt from Mr. Wright, for the tuition of three scholars dated April 6, 1826, which could only have been for my brother, my cousin and myself. I do not recollect the teacher, but from what my mother has since told me, know he was Mr. Wright, and that he took great interest in teaching me on account of my being so young. He taught me my letters and to spell in the abs. My next teacher was Mr. Menall, who paid no attention to me or to any of the smaller children and, when his school was out, I not only could not spell in the abs, but did not even know my letters. I have no certain memory as to this school, and but a dim recollection of having attended a school in a little old log cabin at the S. W. corner of Jefferson and First streets, which probably was this school.

My next school experience was with Mr. How in the summer of 1826, who had his school in the old Masonic hall, which was the upper room of a two story log house, with an outside flight of stairs on the west end of it. This building was on Lot 2, Block 8, O. T. P., south side of Jefferson street, about half way between what is now known as the Western hotel and the St. Charles hotel. Our house was on the north side of the street immediately opposite. There was a branch running

through the lot on the east side of our house that was full of springs, and I was constantly playing in it and my mother to keep me out of the branch sent me across the street to school. I think my attendance at this school did not exceed an hour, if it did that, for I immediately got into some mischief and Mr. How to punish me put me on the dunce block, with a paper dunce cap on my head. When he turned around to say something to the other scholars I threw the cap off and started down stairs. He seized his whip and went to the head of the stairs and pounded upon them, making a great noise, but not trying to hit me or stop me and I went across the street into the branch at my usual amusement, and was not sent to school any more until the winter of 1826 and 1827 when Judge Moffett opened a school in the double log house at the northeast corner of Jefferson and Fifth streets.

The only events in connection with this school that are impressed upon my memory are the talk and wonder expressed by the scholars at the four Arthur Watson children coming to school regularly a mile and a half across the open prairie from their home (now the Converse place) in all kinds of weather, in rain, snow and the severest cold. Mrs. George Pasfield's mother was one of the four. Near the end of the school term Mr. Moffett concluded to close with a school exhibition and assigned pieces to different children to declaim and they practiced speaking their pieces before the school. One boy, Nat Boyd, had a poem beginning

Ever charming, ever new
When the landscape tires the view.

and he caused great amusement and laughter whenever he attempted to speak his piece. He would, in spite of all Mr. Moffett's efforts, rattle it off so rapidly and in such a sing-song tone that a roar of laughter would be created. I had a piece to speak, which I learned, beginning

You'd scarce expect one of my age
To speak in public on the stage.

and practiced at home. In the evenings after supper when the table was set back, I would be placed in the middle of the room and orated for the amusement of the family. The exhibition took place in the spring, in the old frame court house at the northeast corner of Adams and Sixth streets, and was considered a grand affair, but neither Nat Boyd nor myself took part in it.

My school experiences from this time on till the winter of the deep snow in 1830 and 1831 were fragmentary, as I spent much of my time in Madison county with my grandfather and was taught by my aunts. I do, however, remember going to school to Mr. John B. Watson in the old frame court house, but there are only three things connected with it that are impressed upon my memory. One is that we had to get over the prairie slough running through the southeast part of the present court house square on a few rails thrown across it; another was the severe whipping Mr. Watson gave one of the boys for some outrageous conduct, which made a great talk among the scholars; and the third was the delight and fun some of the bigger boys had in teasing and provoking Eliza Robinson until she would become so angry she would take after them, and then they would run out of her way. The date of this

school was probably the summer of 1829, Mr. Watson having moved here in the spring. He was subsequently county surveyor and the first to keep any records of surveys.

I also went to school to Miss Jane Bergen, who taught in a little frame school house on the south side of Washington street midway between Fourth and Fifth streets. The only thing impressed on my memory in connection with this school is the punishment I received for misconduct. The last school I attended, previous to the deep snow, was in the log school house built in the intersection of Adams and Second streets. Its greatest length was from east to west and the door was in the middle of the south side. In going to this school we had to cross the deep channel of the branch at the alley on Second street between Washington and Adams streets, and the crossing was on a big log some four or five feet above the water, and the log was only roughly leveled off a little on the top. There are two things connected with this school that are vividly impressed on my memory. One was that the teacher would for a few minutes permit the children to study aloud, when the school would become a perfect Babel. The other was, that in addition to the regular intermissions he would permit the boys, six or eight at a time, to go out ostensibly to study their lessons under the clump of big shade trees that stood a few rods northwest of the school house. We little boys used to employ the time playing marbles and mumble peg under a splendid big sugar tree until we were called in. I suppose these peculiarities were intended for relaxation and relief from the fatigue of the long twelve-hour school, more than anything else. Our teacher was no hard disciplinarian but a very kind hearted and intellectual man. One who, if his ambition and energy had equalled his mental qualifications, would have been the leading man in Illinois in his day. This closes my school experience previous to the deep snow.

The Van Noy Hanging.

I remember about the Van Noy hanging in 1826 and seeing him in the old log jail which stood on the northeast corner of the present court house square, with the whipping post about 80 feet west. The jail was a square hewn log building, about 12 by 14 feet, divided into two apartments. The north or criminal cell was not more than 6 by 10 feet and the door entering it was through the debtor's cell on the south. The entrance to the latter was on the west side. The window of the criminal cell was less than a foot square, with upright iron rods in it some two or three inches apart. This old jail was afterwards sold and removed to the alley south of Washington street between Seventh and Eighth streets, and used as a stable, as perhaps some of the old residents will remember. When the day for the hanging arrived there was a large crowd assembled to witness it. Men came with their families from 20 to 30 miles. The procession formed at the jail and consisted of wagons filled with men, women and children, men on horseback and men and boys on foot. It passed down Jefferson street in front of our house. I thought it was a big muster and wanted to go and see it but my mother

would not let me. The procession turned south at First street to the gallows, erected in the hollow south of the present State house, in the rear part of Bishop Seymour's premises. The gallows was a very simple affair, consisting of two upright posts, 10 feet high, set firmly in the ground about 10 feet apart, and a cross piece at the top of the posts to which the rope was attached. This gallows stood there for a number of years and was a sort of a scare crow to the small boys. When the procession arrived at the gallows, as I was told by those who witnessed the hanging, the wagon containing Van Noy drove between the posts, he stood up in the rear end, the slip noose was put around his neck, and when all was ready the wagon was driven forward and left him swinging until he was choked to death. The remains were immediately taken to Dr. Philleo's office, a little two room frame building on the north side of Jefferson street, midway between Second and Third streets, the gable end of the building up to the line of the street. There, after some little effort to restore life to the body, it was finally dissected in the front room. The door and window were wide open and a crowd of men and boys in the street looking on. The citizens became so outraged at this disgusting exhibition, that finally the dissection was removed to the back room, the front door and window closed and the back door and window opened.

This office was immediately adjoining the west line of our premises and not over 50 feet from our house, with but a low fence separating the premises. I was in the office nearly every day and one of the doctors knowing my habit of playing in the branch, as a practical joke, gave me the upper part of a skull to use in mixing mortar. I took it and went to my springs in the branch, but it would not answer my purpose for there was a round hole in the top and it would not hold water. I carried it up to the house and the women folks, catching sight of my treasure, hustled me back with it in a hurry. From all accounts Dr. Philleo was a skillful surgeon and gained a great reputation in the community from his successful treatment of the case of James Abrams, a little boy that was kicked by a horse, breaking his skull so badly that a considerable amount of his brains came out. No other doctor or person thought he could possibly live, but Dr. Philleo succeeded in bringing him through sound in body and mind.

Deep Snow.

Of the deep snow of 1830 and '31, I do not know at what time it commenced, or when it ended, except as the dates were afterwards told me, but do remember it lasted a long time and have a vivid recollection of the pleasure we boys had with our little hand sleds, sliding down the hills and hitching on to the sleighs and sleds going along the streets. Sometimes there would be as many as a dozen strung after one sleigh. Our little sleds were not the fancy affairs that boys now get from the stores, but were made of two boards about two and a half feet long and seven or eight inches wide for the runners, which tapered to an angle of forty-five or fifty degrees in front, three or four holes were

bored through them for the cross pieces which held them together and a board on top to sit on. A rope or strap was fastened to the front cross piece and was long enough to go around the upright or standard of a sleigh or sled with one end in the boy's hand on his sled, so he could detach himself at pleasure. This was great fun for us boys, but a great annoyance to the young men and women in their sleigh riding and to lovers of fast trotting and pacing horses in their speeding up and down Jefferson street.

Dr. Gershom Jayne, Peter Van Bergen and Gordon Abrams, the three most noted horsemen of the day, who were annoyed by the boys, played off on the boys and finally broke up the hitching to their sleighs. There were frequent snow falls that winter and the next day after a six or eight inch fall of light snow in the night, they invited the boys to fasten onto their three sleighs for a ride. We were delighted at the prospect of a good ride and so at the corner of Jefferson and Second streets, hitched on to their three sleighs and they started north on Second street at a slow jog and all went merry as a marriage bell until we got to Madison street, when they turned east on it and put whips to their horses. There having been no travel on this street, our little sleds plowed into this snow, covering us completely with snow, so we could hardly see or breathe. All the boys but two dropped out by the time they got to Third street. Of the two that remained, one stuck as far as Fourth street, when he had to give in. William Herndon was the only one that went through to the starting place. After that, if the boys hitched onto their sleighs, they would haul them out on the beaten track a half mile or so and then run them out into the deep snow until the boys let loose and leave them there to walk back.

The long winter evenings were spent by the kitchen fires, cracking and eating walnuts, hickory nuts and hazel nuts, of which every family had laid in an ample supply, from the abundant mart of the adjacent woods. In our family we added the parching and roasting of popcorn and yellow corn. The latter, when well browned and ground and served in a bowl with rich, sweet milk, is a dish I could enjoy even now. These were the days before the introduction of the cooking stove, when the fireplaces, as compared with these of the present day, were huge affairs. Our kitchen fire place was at least six feet between the jambs and over two feet deep. The hearth extended past the brick oven and nearly the full width of the kitchen. Attached to the jamb in the fireplace was the iron crane with its hooks to hang the pots and kettles over the fire. In this big fireplace were burned backlogs bigger than two men could carry. They were rolled from the wood pile to the kitchen door, then slid and rolled to the hearth, the fire and ashes raked forwards, skids laid down and with the aid of hand spikes, the logs were rolled onto the skids and fitted into their place in the chimney, the ashes shovelled to the back and to the ends of the log. A back stick a size smaller than the log was placed on top, and still a smaller one on top of that. On the andirons was placed a big fore stick and the coals, brands and chunks piled on top with plenty of small wood, making such a hot fire that we children did not realize that it was more than 20° below zero out of doors. As the fires burned down, the

back sticks in their order were brought forward as fore stick and about the third day the back stick became the back or fore stick for another big backlog. The big kitchen shovel, andirons, crane and hook were made from bar iron by a pioneer blacksmith for my parents some ninety years ago and are now in the possession of one of my sisters and kept as relics of those early days.

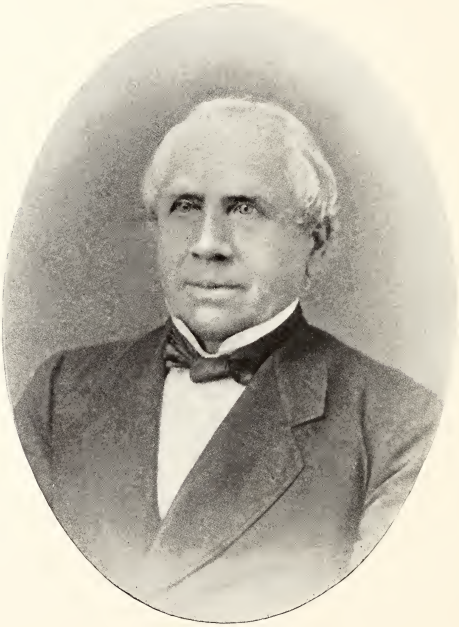
My father was a great lover of fine oxen, as Messrs. Jayne, Van Bergen and Abrams were of fine horses, and, in ridng around the country, whenever he saw a very fine, large ox or steer, that for size, shape and disposition took his fancy, he would buy it and then keep a sharp lookout and inquiry until he could find a match; then he would yoke them together and train them. In training them, he never used or would suffer to be used a big ox goad, nothing heavier than a light carriage whip or a hazel switch, and they were trained to be perfectly obedient to the word of command. That winter at the beginning of the deep snow there would have been much suffering in the town if it had not been for my father's two yoke of big oxen. Not anticipating such a storm, quite a number were in a few days out of wood. They had no sleds and horses, could not get through the snow. So he hitched his two yoke of big oxen to his wood sled, and taking with him Philip Fowler, a carpenter who lived in the east end of our house, they plowed through the snow to his timber, (now my wood pasture) cut and hauled wood to those that were out of it.

Often in passing through the timber when I was a grown man, I could not help noticing the stumps of the trees then cut, many of them were higher than my head. The wood was not worked up into cord wood lengths and size in the timber, that was left to be done at home; but cut in 10, 12 or 14 feet lengths as was most convenient, and the logs rolled onto the sled on skids by the oxen. The timber through which they had to pass with the load had been nearly all cut off, and the stumps and old logs were so covered up in the snow, that it was difficult to get out without running against them. Frequently, it was necessary to hitch the oxen to the hind end of the sled, and draw it back from a stump or log, or something would break in the contest, that would have to be repaired before they could go on. I remember once being present when the sled got wedged in a patch of stumps and in trying to get out, one of the oxen broke his bow and got loose from the team. He did not make any attempt to leave, but stood around quietly until Mr. Fowler went home and returned with another bow, when without any trouble he permitted the bow to be placed around his neck and to be led to his place on the off-side of the tongue, the yoke put on his neck, the bow slipped to its place and keyed. These two yoke of oxen were so large, strong and well framed, that whenever they put forth their united strength, the load had to move, or something give way. They frequently, in running against stumps or logs that were hidden under the snow, would break a chain or a yoke or some part of the sled, that stopped all hauling until repairs could be made.

The most sensational incident of that winter that I call to mind, was the freezing to death on the prairie of a man, when on his way to his

home at Lick creek. He had been in town all day drinking very hard, and at night started to go home along the old St. Louis road. When he got about a couple of rods south of Mr. Master's cornfield, (now the intersection of South Grand avenue and Second streets) he fell or was thrown from his horse and froze to death that night in the snow. The next day, some people coming to town discovered him and reported the fact, which created quite an excitement and men in sleighs, sleds and on horseback and others on foot, with a crowd of boys hurried to the place. I run myself down by the time I got there, having run over a mile through the snow. Shortly after, Dr. Merryman arrived. He examined the man and pronounced him dead and frozen past all recovery. In his examination he found a dirk on the body which the Doctor pulled from its sheath and showed to the crowd. The corpse was placed upon one of the sleds, hauled back to town, and that day taken by some of his neighbors to his home. Who the man was or what was his name, I do not know now, if I ever did.

In the first settlement of the county there was brought in (it is said by Judge ———) a breed of dogs called the English bull dog. They were not like the little pug nosed, bow-legged, and ill dispositioned bull dog of today, but large, powerful, good looking, courageous and intelligent animals, that became very extensively used by the farmers of this and Madison counties as a protection for their sheep, young animals and poultry, against the night attacks of wolves, wild cats, foxes and other wild beasts. They were also used in catching wild hogs, and by hunters when after bears, panthers, wild cats or wild boars. We had one of these dogs, we called him Turk, and my brother who was several years older than myself, rigged up a harness for the dog and hitched him to his sled, and we had great fun hauling in wood with him and riding around the lot. Our experience was not so pleasant when we went with him on the street, for Turk was a great fighting dog, and if he caught sight of a strange dog, he was apt to run away and would drop the occupant off or drag him into a dog fight. Turk had almost human sense, no effort was ever made to train him, but if a stranger came upon the premises, Turk would follow until he left, without any display of temper, unless the party took hold of something, when Turk would growl, and if he attempted to carry it away, Turk would grab him until he dropped it. Or if a strange person came to the house and knocked or helloed, the dog would stand peaceably by him until some member of the family came to the door. If no one responded to the alarm, and the stranger turned and walked away, the dog would not trouble him, but if he attempted to open the door and go in, Turk quickly gave him to understand that he must not. As the country settled up, the usefulness of these dogs diminished, and no care being taken to preserve the breed, they finally disappeared. The last that I remember seeing was Dr. Jayne's dog Nero.



Gustavus Koerner.

THE LATIN IMMIGRATION IN ILLINOIS.

By B. A. Beinlich.

German influence has played a large part in shaping the political, social and industrial history of Illinois. Only within recent years has the importance of this element become recognized. The historians of the past have either disregarded it entirely, or incidentally mentioned it. I shall attempt to trace this element which formed the nucleus for German life in the Mississippi valley and became a vital force in the development of our State.

The coming of the Germans into the west was the result of various causes, both in America and on the continent. I wish briefly to consider these so as to point out the motives which actuated these people to leave their Fatherland and build new homes in a strange country.

By the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, a dangerous rival was silenced. The great watercourse, which had been closed to commerce, now became the chief highway for trade. To the west, a vast stretch of virgin soil was thrown open to settlement. Illinois having been seriously hampered by the proximity of a foreign nation, was now able to enter upon a new era. The frontier line which had already pushed its way into Kentucky and Indiana now burst forth into the great expanse, where it lost itself. The tide of emigration turned westward. The sturdy Appalachian farmer, who barely eked out an existence upon the rocky hillsides, began life anew on the fertile prairies of Illinois. It was not long until accounts of this new and wonderful west drifted across the Atlantic to inspire thousands with new hope and ambitions.

In Europe, the Napoleonic wars had laid waste a large proportion of the land, resulting in a deplorable economic condition. The tillable area was inadequate to supply the densely populated cities with food. Furthermore, industrial life was passing through a period of transition. The laboring classes, unable to find employment, were constantly growing more restless. It was evident to all that the situation must be met soon, or war was inevitable.

Every crisis calls forth men who can lead the people safely through their dangers. Such men had guided the German people in the past and were again to direct their destiny. The thinking men ascribed the conditions to several causes. Some believed that the lack of food was due to over-population, and maintained that the problem could be

solved only by emigration. Others traced the difficulty to the bad method of taxation and demanded reforms. The greater number, however, were convinced that there could be no progress except by a broader national unity and individual freedom. Schiller and Goethe had installed into German life higher ideals and a new conception of freedom. These had taken root and were expressing themselves in all classes of society. But the greatest activity was manifested among the student body of the universities.

The winter of 1831 was an eventful one for the German nation. The July revolution of 1830 in France had rekindled the smoldering fires of German patriotism and freedom. University students sang the Marseillaise and wore caps bearing the colors of the French revolutionists. They posted bulletins favorable to the revolution, and organized societies in the various provinces to promote German freedom and a liberal constitution. The climax was reached when a festival was held at Neustadt in May, 1832,[1] to discuss plans for extending national dignity and power. The idea of such a confederation appealed to every one. The Bavarian government becoming alarmed issued an order forbidding it. The populace disregarded the order and 40,000 patriotic citizens responded. Political speeches were delivered pointing out the insignificance of Germany in councils of European nations, its depression in trade and commerce, all owing to the want of national union. The enthusiasm was unbounded. Every citizen left with a determination to hasten reforms, even by revolutionary means, if necessary. The government retaliated by restricting the freedom of the universities, free speech and freedom of the press. The more dangerous communities were placed under strict military surveillance. Here and there the revolutionists attempted to gain their purpose by force, only to be defeated and forced into exile. The time had not yet come when the rights of the people should be vindicated. Disappointed in their attempt for reform at home, persecuted by despotic power, and despairing of national unity, they were ready to leave their fatherland for a more congenial environment. Thus began the Latin immigration of 1833.

For a number of years prior to the revolutionary movement, there had appeared a series of articles in the German papers,[2] discussing the feasibility of creating a German state either in Brazil or the United States. About the same time there appeared Gottfried Duden's "Report Concerning a Journey to the Western States of North America." These publications exerted a strong influence among all classes[3] of people and interested many who had not thought of leaving their native land. Duden's book became popular and the first edition soon sold. Although it was quite accurate in its description of the country, it was too idealistic. Hilgard, who came to the Mississippi valley in 1832 with a colony, states that it was the best account of the West.[4]

[1] Memoirs Gustave Körner, I., 187.
[2] Memoirs of Gustave Körner, I., 188. The Tribune, Westland and Ausland.
[3] Gobel Langer als ein Menschenleben, p. 2.
[4] Westland, p. 258; Duden, p. 52.

The Germans studied the geography of the western country very carefully. They placed great confidence in the writings of Duden who had visited the country in 1824, remaining three years. He made a thorough study of the climatic conditions, soils, and commercial facilities. In his report he favored Missouri rather than Illinois. To him the prairies did not appear productive and the water contained too large a percentage of iron and sulphur. The absence of trees was sufficient proof of the infertility of the soil. The merchants[1] whom he met intended to remain but temporarily. He also heard many stories concerning the malarial and typhoid diseases that prevailed in the low-lying river bottoms. The prairies too he thought were unhealthful from the presence of stagnant ponds. He notes that the Hanover Colony, which laid the foundation of Vandalia in 1820,[2] was considerably reduced on account of its unhealthfulness. These facts he considered as conclusive in favor of settlement west of the Mississippi.

The question of greatest concern, however, to the German was the social and political situation in America. He was anxious to preserve the educational welfare of his youth. Those who had opposed emigration pointed out that on the frontier there were no schools or colleges. But such an argument had no weight with the thoughtful. If there were no schools or newspapers they were able to organize them.[3]

American politics presented a new problem to the foreigners. They looked askance at the existence of two political parties and doubted the permanency of such a government. What appealed to them most was the freedom of the citizen. For such a principle they had struggled. They were ready to affiliate with that party which stood for the highest ideals of democracy. They regretted the existence of slavery, and refused to settle upon slave soil. Duden[4] had expressed some ideas in favor of slavery, but very few accepted them. He stated that since white labor was scarce, it became necessary to keep slaves. Kœrner on the other hand urged all free spirited fellow countrymen to settle upon free soil. The social problem had to be solved after their settlement in the West, for they had no guide to American frontier life.

From 1815 to 1831 several organizations were promoted in Germany whose object was to encourage immigration. Among them the Berlin Company[5] and the Geisgener Company[6] were the most prominent. The original notion was to establish German states in Arkansas and Kansas. The latter company had resulted from the newspaper agitation early in the nineteenth century. It proposed to purchase a large tract of land and parcel it out in fifty acre lots to each member. During the first year a communistic form of government was to exist. The houses were to be built by the organization and later could be purchased by the owner of the land.[7] Such a plan appealed to all classes and many applied for

[1] Duden, p. 55.
[2] Körner, Des Deutsche Element, p. 245.
[3] Westland, p. 125.
[4] Duden, p. 160.
[5] Der Deutsche Pioneer, V. 3, p. 210 211.
[6] Ibid, p. 211.
[7] Göbel, p. 9.

membership. There were men, however, farsighted enough to protest against such idealism. Previous attempts had proved that no Utopian system could flourish upon American soil.

In 1834 the company began active operations for departure. They decided to go in two divisions, one by way of New Orleans, the other to Baltimore. Of the first group a considerable number died of small-pox, yellow fever and cholera. When they reached St. Louis they gave up all plans for going farther west. A few remained in the vicinity of the city and the remainder settled in St. Clair county, Illinois. The second group had withdrawn from the organization while still at sea, and on their arrival decided to build their homes in Illinois. The Berlin Company[1] had arrived in 1832, and most of its members came to St. Clair county.

When the Germans began to settle in Illinois in 1802, they found the American bottoms occupied by the French, who had settlements at Cahokia[2] and Kaskaskia. Smaller groups were found at ——— creek and Prairie du Pont.[3] On the higher areas to the eastward were Virginians. The states of Georgia, South Carolina and Kentucky were also represented. The poorer sections were taken up by Tennesseans, and North Carolinans. Here and there were a few well-to-do Pennsylvania Germans.

The earlier Germans had come from the lower social class, but nevertheless represented a higher educational standard than those from similar stations of life in England or France. Many of them had been driven from their native land because of religious views. Others found their country unsafe because of political disorders. There were those, too, who had served in the Hessian army during the American revolution. When their term of enlistment expired they refused to serve any longer in a cause they believed was wrong. It was not unusual for these men to take the risk of desertion and escape to the West to enter the service of trading companies.

Illinois had no large commercial center in 1833. Kaskaskia, which at one time had been the social, political and commercial center, was now decadent. For this reason we find the earliest German settlements in the counties adjoining St. Louis. Not until Chicago had grown to some size do we find German colonies in the northern counties. By 1831 the following settlements had been made in Illinois: Dutch Hollow, 1802;[4] Dutch Hill,[5] 1815; Vandalia, 1820;[6] Turkey Hill and Looking Glass Prairie," 1831.[7]

Most of the "Latenier" settled in Shiloh valley near Belleville; some joined the Swiss colony at Turkey Hill, while others settled upon the bluffs along the Mississippi.[8]

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[1] Goebel, p. 7.
[2] Der Deutsche Pioneer, V. 1, p. 113.
[3] Der Deutsche Pioneer, V. 1, p. 113.
[4] Der Deutsche Pioneer, V. 13, p. 108.
[5] Ibid, p. 340.
[6] Körner, p. 371, V. 1.
[7] Ibid, V. 2, p. 222.
[8] Der Deutsche Pioneer, V. 13, p., 20.

Here they began a life far different from their environment in European cities. Their first efforts were directed to make their surroundings resemble their former home life as far as possible. The dog house of the pioneer was unattractive to them. They wanted new houses with cellars such as they had been accustomed to. The front yard must have its flower bed, while the vegetable garden was a secondary matter. A contemporary described them thus:[1]

"These men who paved the way into the fruitful valleys of the West, who seemingly had exchanged a poor acre for a better one were not farmers—at the most, beginners; but men who belonged to the cultured and scholarly classes of Germany now desired to escape the narrow conventionalities of city life, to wash off the school dust in the fresh dew of the virgin forests, and to drink new life at the fountain of nature. There were women who, no doubt, had served at the tea table but never thought of the pains of strenuous labor. Youths who had guided the pen and swung the sword but never the ax."

Such culture contrasted sharply with the simple frontier life of the Americans. It was only natural that the latter looked upon the new comers with curiosity. However, the Germans soon became accustomed to their new environment and forgot conventionality. Born amidst wealth and aristocracy they found it necessary to assume a new social standard in harmony with the new conditions. It must be said to their credit that they did not become exclusive. It was an easier process for them to adopt western civilization and gradually elevate the ideals of western life. Although they were a product of the revolutionary spirit of 1830 and often had gone astray in their demands, the larger portion exerted an unconscious influence upon the community and strengthened the democratic spirit of the West.

These "Latenier" formed the basis for German life and power. This group of young, energetic, cultured men with their diverse ambitions was not long in making itself felt in farming, commerce, journalism and trade. They were soon mingling with their American neighbors and emphasizing every phase of public welfare.

They were much concerned about the education of their children. During the first winter a school house was erected and Kœrner appointed as schoolmaster. In journalism they took an active part. By 1847, they had organized several prominent newspapers.[2] Kœrner wrote a legal treatise in German "Auszug aus der Gesetzen des Staats Illinois." It served to acquaint the new citizens with the laws of our State. Hilgard contributed articles to the "American Journal of Science," on geology and chemistry. Several of these Germans became leaders in State and national affairs. Gustav Kœrner was perhaps the most prominent. He was chosen lieutenant governor of this State and in 1860 was one of the seven who drew up the platforms of the republican party. It was

[1] Auzeiger des Westens, Jan. 26, 1836.
[2] Des Deutsche Element, p. 277; Freiheitsbote fur Illinois, 1840; Adler Des Westens, Springfield, 1844; Stern des Westens, 1845; Chicago Volksfreund, 1845; Illinois Staatszeitung, 1847.

Kœrner who labored most intensely for the candidacy of Lincoln before the convention. A few years later he served as American diplomat in Spain and France.

Shiloh valley became known as the Latin settlement on account of the educational standard of its people. No one seems to know how the term originated. It was nothing unusual for people of their class to have a knowledge of Latin. It is very probable that this term came to be applied by those who visited the colony and were impressed by the classical training of the people.

PART IV.

Documents.

EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE JACKSON COUNTY COMMISSIONERS' COURT.

Contributed by G. J. Koons.

Most of the early records of Jackson county were destroyed when the court house at Brownsville[1] was burned, January 10, 1843. A few books, however, are known to have escaped the flames. Two of these books are the record books of the County Commissioners' Court and are now in the office of the county clerk in Murphysboro. One of the books begins on September 1, 1823, and records the proceedings of the court to December 2, 1834. The other book continues the record from the latter date. These books contain a considerable amount of historical material of both local and general interest.

The earliest entry is as follows:

"At a term of the Jackson County Commissioners Court begun and holden in and for said County at Brownsville on the first Monday of September being the first day of said month in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three.

"Present—Hons. J. Byars, J. Harreld, B. F. Conners, Esqs."

The court was in session two days, September 1 and 2. Constables were appointed; and also twenty-four Traverse jurors and twenty-four Grand jurors for the March term of the circuit court. Among the names of the Grand jurors appointed are found those of Conrad Will,[2] Joseph Duncan,[3] Matthew Duncan[4] and William Boon.[5] The account of Samuel L. Burton, clerk of the court, for $20.75 was allowed. Supervisors of highways were appointed at this session. Taxes on ferries were levied as follows:

"Ordered by the Court that the tax upon ferries in said County for the year ending Dec. 1, 1823, be as follows: John Ankeny seven dollars, William Gill four dollars, James Gill five dollars, Matthew Duncan five dollars, Singleton H. Kimmel three dollars."

The County Commissioners issued licenses for keeping taverns and for the retailing of spiritous liquors as is shown by the following:

"Joseph Duncan presents his petition praying for license to keep a house of public entertainment and retail spiritous liquors at his residence in said County—Ordered by the Court that the prayer of said petition be granted upon said Duncan's paying six dollars for the use of the County and the usual fees to the Clerk."

The Commissioners allowed themselves five dollars for two days' services as "judges of the Court." On March 1, 1824, we find the following entry:

"Ordered by the Court, that the following charges be allowed to be charged at the ferry over the Big Muddy at Brownsville—for a Cart and one horse, twenty-five cents, Cart and two beasts twenty-five cents—for a led beast six and a fourth cents."

In spite of the fact that Governor Coles, in a letter to the Secretary of the State of New York, says that "Illinois has no poor," we find provision made for this class by the commissioners and occasional appropriations for their relief.

"Ordered by the Court that the following persons be and hereby are appointed overseers of the poor for the following townships for the year ensuing, for Gognia township Daniel Bilderback and Laphua Brooks, for Saline township Conrad Will and John Ankeny—for Beaucoup township James Hall Jun. J. G. Butcher, for Muddy township Hezekiah Davis Senior and Edward Swartz."

"Ordered by the court that the following persons be and hereby are appointed auditors of the accounts of the overseers of the poor for the year last past—for Gognia township Isaac Glenn and Absalom Hinnison, for Saline township William Boon and Thomas Hadley—for Beaucoup township Elijah Wells and William Throop, for Muddy township, John Glenn and Samuel Smith."

On March 7, 1825, we find:

"Ordered by the Court that the following articles of Property be taxed in addition to what is taxed by the State for the year 1825, to-wit Horses cattle distilleries & Pleasure Carriages to be taxed at one-half per Centum."

A similar entry on March 4, 1828, reads:

"It appearing to the satisfaction of the Court that the taxes on Lands are not sufficient to defray the expenses of the county therefore it is ordered by the Court that a tax of one half per cent be Levied on the following articles of Property for the present year to-wit, town lots in Brownsville and out lots within the bounds of the Corporation of said town on Slaves indentured or Registered negro or mulatto servants on pleasure carriages on Distilleries on Stock in trade on all horses mares mules asses and neat cattle above three years of age and on watches and their appendages and on Clocks."

March 8, 1825, we find:

"Ordered by the Court that the following be the rates which tavern keepers are allowed to Charge for the year following to-wit

For keeping a horse one night on grain and hay or grain and fodder	$0.37½
For keeping horse day and night	0.50
Horse feed per gallon Corn or Oats	0.12½
Breakfast dinner or Supper	0.25
Lodging	0.12½
French Brandy and Wine and Rum per half pint	0.25
Apple or Peach Brandy or Cherry Bounce (?) per half pt	0.12½
Whiskey per half pint	0.12½
Cider per quart	0.12½
Cider (?) Oil per quart	0.18¾

Conrad Will and Joseph Duncan were both active in securing the passage of the free school law of 1825. At the session of the County Commissioners' Court June 6, 1825, the Brownsville and the Big Hill

school districts were established. Conrad Will was a resident of the Brownsville district and Joseph Duncan of the Big Hill district. The act of the commissioners establishing the Brownsville district, is given here:

"Jesse Griggs[7] and others to the number of seventeen legal voters, residing in and about Brownsville Presented their petition to the Court praying that a School district be laid off agreeably to an act entitled, an 'Act providing for the Establishment of free schools,' to be called the Brownsville School district to be bounded as follows to-wit beginning at the mouth of Kinkade Creek thence up said Creek and Little Kinkaid Creek to the South West Corner of Section 10 town 8 S. Range three West, thence East on the lines dividing section three and 15 11 and 14 and 12 and 13 to the line between Range two and three West thence South on said township line to the S. E. Corner of said township thence South to Muddy River thence up said River to the line dividing section 8 and 9 town 9 S Range 2 West thence south between sections 17 and 16, 20 and 21 and 29 and 28 to the S. E. Corner of said section 29 in said township thence due west to Muddy river thence up said River to the place of beginning. And it appearing to the satisfaction of said Court that the said petitioners were a majority of legal voters contained within the said Bonds and that the said boundary contained fifteen families and up were (?) as (?) therefore ordered by the Court that the said petition be granted and the said District is established accordingly."

Most of the remaining entries are of only local interest. They might, however, contain material of considerable interest to one who is investigating the early County Commissioners' Courts of the State.

APPENDIX.

All these notes are references to statements made on page 217, except notes 6 and 7, which are references to pages 218 and 219.

N. 1. (p. 217). Brownsville. See Transactions of Ill. State Hist. Society, 1905, p. 355. There are, however several inaccuracies in this account. Brownsville was located on Conrad Will's land instead of Jesse Grigg's as stated by Dr. Snyder. In book D, p. 543 of the restored Jackson County records in the Circuit Clerk's office is recorded a deed dated June 11, 1816 by which Conrad Will and Susanna his wife convey twenty acres located in the S. E. ¼ of Section 2, Town 9 South, Range 3 west to Jesse Griggs, Nathan Davis, and James Hall, Judges of the County Commissioners' Court. It thus appears that Dr. Snyder is in error as to who constituted the first County Commissioners' Court of Jackson County. See also Territorial Records, p. 40.

N. 2. (p. 217). Conrad Will. For sketch see Trans. Ill. State Hist. Society, 1905, pp. 351-377. He leased the saline lands from the government, and bought the quarter section on which Brownsville was located from James Gilbreath of Kaskaskia. This quarter section on which Brownsville was located adjoined on the west the one in which the salt well was located. According to the original entry book in the Circuit Clerk's office the only land in the County entered by him was the S. W. ¼ of Section 5, Town 9 South, Range 1 west. Ill. Hist. Collections, Vol. IV, p. 38.

N. 3. (p. 217). Joseph Duncan, fifth Governor of Illinois. Lived at Fountain Bluff while in Jackson County. According to the original entry book J. & M. Duncan on May 27, 1817 entered the fractional W ½ of Sec. 36, Town 9 south, Range 4 west, consisting of 209.99 acres. Several other entries were made later. He went to Jacksonville to live in 1830. Ill. Hist. Collections, Vol. IV, p. 131. Biographical sketch in Fergus Historical Series.

N. 4. (p. 217). Matthew Duncan. See Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV, p. 61. Life of Joseph Duncan in Fergus Historical Series p. 8.

N. 5. (p. 217). William Boon. Appointed Capt. in First Regiment of Militia, June 30, 1810, also on same date given commission to administer oaths to persons appointed to territorial offices in Randolph County; Capt. May 6, 1813; Justice of the Peace, Jackson County, Mar. 25, 1816; was state Senator in second General Assembly.

N. 6. (p. 218). James Hall, Jr. One of first three judges of Jackson County Commissioners' Court. Delegate to First Constitutional Convention.

Note 7, on p. 219. Jesse Griggs. May 6, 1809 appointed Lieut. in Randolph County Militia; Jan. 2, 1810, Lieut. in Randolph County Militia; Aug. 26, 1810, Lieut. in Second Battalion of 1st Regiment of Militia: Feb. 15, 1811, Capt. of 1st Regiment of Militia; Dec. 2, 1812, Justice of the Peace of Johnson County; Feb. 8, 1813, Judge of Court of Common Pleas of Johnson County; Dec. 24, 1814, Judge of County Court of Johnson County; Jan. 17, 1816, Judge of County Court of Jackson County: Feb. 28, 1818 Justice for Jackson County; Member of House of Representatives of first General Assembly which met Oct. 5, 1818.

THE DIARY OF EDWARD W. CRIPPIN, PRIVATE 27TH ILLINOIS VOLUNTEERS, WAR OF THE REBELLION, AUGUST 7, 1861, TO SEPTEMBER 19, 1863.

Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Robert J. Kerner.

Introduction.

The 27th Illinois Volunteers of the Civil War have a contemporary historian in the person of Edward W. Crippin, a member of Company C.[1] The book in which he wrote is a large-sized leather-covered note book, and exhibits the handwriting of more than one person, but there is no doubt that it is a genuine diary of this regiment, and that the greater part of the writing was done by Crippin.[2] It is a simple narative of the movements of the regiment, containing such observations on the daily life of a soldier as may be expected from a country youth, who had offered to serve his country. The 27th regiment was raised for the most part in the middle western counties of the State, and was mustered into service at Camp Butler, Sangamon county, in the month of August, 1861. Among its officers were N. B. Buford, graduate of West Point, Colonel of the regiment and later Brigadier and Major General; F. A. Harrington, Lieutenant Colonel; W. A. Schmitt, Captain of Company A; and J. R. Miles, Captain of Company F and later Colonel of the regiment.[3]

[1] The following certificate secured from the Adjutant General's office indicates some variation in spelling but seems to confirm the authenticity of the record:

United States of America,
State of Illinois, Adjutant General's Office,
Springfield, June 13, 1910.

It is Hereby Certified, That it appears from the Records of this Office, that Edward W. Criffin, Enlisted on the 3rd day of August, 1861, at Perry, Illinois, and was mustered into the service of the United States as a Corporal, in Company C, 27th Regiment, Illinois Volunteer Infantry, for the period of Three years, on the 16th day of August, 1861.

Age, 25: Height, 5 ft. 10 in.: Hair, Black: Eyes, Black: Complexion, Dark: Occupation, Farmer: Native, Zanesville, Ohio.

Promoted Color Sergeant, May 5, 1863.

Died in Hospital at Chattanooga, Tennessee, December 24, 1863 of wounds received in battle, Mission Ridge November 25, 1863.

"Name appears on original Muster Out Roll C, 27th Reg. Ill. Vol. Inf. as Edward W. Crippen."

His residence at date of enlistment is stated as Perry, Pike County, Illinois.

This Certificate is issued at the request of Robert J. Kerner, Champaign, Illinois.

Frank S. Dickson,
The Adjutant General of Illinois.
Chief of Staff. "*S.*"

[2] The handwriting in the diary changes in all seven times. The footnotes give the exact place of the changes. The original is in the library of the University of Illinois.

[3] See the Diary passim. Eddy, Patriotism of Illinois, II., p. 53.

Crippin turned to the keeping of a diary to pass away the dull moments of camp life. In this and in the way in which he uses his unschooled English, especially in the description of a battle, he shows that he was more than an ordinary private. Up to the time of the regiment's arrival in Cairo, his insertions merely record the routine of camp construction and guard, camp sickness, and the arrival of various companies with their officers. The regiment reluctantly obeyed the order to leave camp for Cairo, which Crippin calls "one of the most unhealthy spots in the U. S." They are resigned to their fate with the observation that they will undergo "anything to save our Union Our beloved country let it be what it will."[1] They remain at Cairo for more than two months, taking care of the camp, dressparading, and gossiping over rumors of the defeats and successes of the Northern Armies. The desertions of comrades and the behavior of some under the influence of liquor seem to have made an impression upon the private. There is some talk of taking down from his high seat "his majesty, the Colonel." But this the adroit Colonel brings to an end by ordering the arrest of the arch conspirators and petitioners, and then exacting peace by allowing them to go free.[2]

Finally, on November 6, the scene is shifted. The 27th regiment, among others, embarked for a demonstration against Columbus, Kentucky. In the course of this manoeuver, the battle of Belmont took place. The 27th Illinois played a conspicuous part in this engagement, and Crippin's description of it is particularly forcible. "All over the Battlefield they lay in close proximity to each other. Some torn asunder by cannon balls, some with frightful wounds here and there in different parts of the body. Some were killed outright with musket balls through the temples or forehead, others with limbs torn off suffering the most torturing agonies t'was a most horrible sight to contemplate."[3] It was here that the 27th, led by Colonel Buford, made a clever retreat around a bayou and outwitted the enemy. The regiment then returned to Cairo. It did not leave again until March 4, when it embarked for nearly two months of service on boat and in field. It took part in the occupation of Columbus, Kentucky, and it entered Hickman, "keeping step to the soul stirring notes of Yankee Doodle & Dixies land."[4] The regiment was then put on duty on the Mississippi river where it took part in the operations in the neighborhood of Island Number 10. The regiment finally entered field duty near Corinth, Mississippi, about the last of April, 1862. The Battle of Farmington, in which our diarist took part is likewise vividly described. In part he writes: "Our line [of] Battle is perfect and lying low to escape the fire on our right—[we] cooly await the approaching foe. But have not long to wait, their banners & then their head finally they can all be seen advancing to the brow of the hill opposite—distant about 250 yards. Our men are eager now & impatient for the order fire. A new feature is now added to the scene before us. Galloping rapidly to the front and unlimbering a battery of six pieces of artillery turn their mouths full upon us, this all done before

[1] Diary, Aug. 28, 1861.
[2] Diary, October 31, November 2, 3, 5, 1861, and footnote.
[3] Diary, Nov. 7, 1861.
[4] Diary, Mar. 14, 1862.

our eyes without a single order to fire—by which we might have prevented such a movement—was too much for human nature to bear . . . . A few men in Co.B and private Knip in our comp. impelled by the idea that they can see just as well a little farther back—attempt to fly but are prevented by the officers and file closers. But Joel Knip is so determined in his resolution that he does not alter it—Capt. Allen jumps before him with drawn sword threatens to run him through unless he returns to his post."[1]

The regiment spent the summer of 1862 guarding, picking berries, foraging, and lolling around Camp Big Springs and Iuka, Mississippi. A curious episode happened while they were foraging. The diarist can tell the story best. "Wednesday we went up into the mountains after a team it belonged to a widow woman it was all the team she had the lieutenant put it to vote whether we should take it or not we voted not to take it she came out and thanked us."[2] Early in September, the 27th marched north after General Bragg, 160 miles in seven and one-half days, in the direction of Nashville. In this neighborhood it was quartered on guard duty on half rations for two months until released by the arrival of General Rosecrans early in November. Immediately afterward, the regiment was sent out on the march and encountered chiefly southern guerrila east of Nashville. The 27th Illinois particularly distinguished itself in the Stone River Campaign.[3] The description in the diary is very good. No enemy could be seen "till about 4 O CloCk in the Eavning when tha Come out of the timber Making a Charge on the left causing our Men to fall baCk and Meny of them run into Stones River that tha had Cresed during that afternoon thoe General rusan reCeived them with rather a warm reCeption for he porde a districtive fire of grape and Canistor a moung ther ranks piling Sevral hundred of them a pon the field the balanCe fled in Confusion Our Men Making a bayonet Charge a pon them taking Sevral hundred prisoners and the Shades of night closed over a Sean that will long bee rembered by evry loyal person."[4]

Here, also, on the 22nd of February, Washington's Birthday, was celebrated. "A Salute is fired by one battery of each Division Army of the Cumberland, in honor of that *Great,* truely man. An order, relative to this gallant Soldier, and true Patriot and glorious deeds during the Revolutionary war, is read on dress parade this evening and it not without effect. Rosecrans Stands nearly as high in the estimation of Army of the Cumberland as Washington of his army."[5] The winter was spent in the vicinity of Stone river.

Late in spring, 1863, the 27th Illinois regiment moved eastward with the whole army and took an active part in the Chickamauga Campaign. After a lively description of several engagements in this cam-

[1] Diary, May 9, 1862.
[2] Diary, Sept. 3, 1862.
[3] See War Records, Series I, Vol. XX, pp. 176, 209, 227, 269-271 and especially p. 256.
[4] Diary, Jan. 2, 1863.
[5] Diary, Feb. 22, 1863.

paign, the dairy comes to an end September 19, 1863. The regiment further took part in the battles of the Atlanta Campaign and was mustered out of service in August, 1865.

The records in the Adjutant General's office at Springfield show that Crippin (Crippin? Criffin?) died December 24, 1863, of wounds received in battle, Mission Ridge, November 25, 1863.

1861 Camp Butler Sagamon County Ills.
August 7th Capt. Parkes Comp arrived at this place. Rec'd Tents Camp Equippage &c. Tents erected today.
Friday the 9th. Quarters Cleaned up. Nothing of importance today. Capt Parkes left for home to day for new recruits.
Tenth Saturday.. Nothing doing to day of importance. Capt. Browns Co. from Winchester this afternoon.
Sunday 11th Col. Hicks Independent Regiment left this morning for St. Louis Preaching in the afternoon at 4 O'clock.
Slight rain during the night.
Monday the 12th. Capt. Waters Co. arrived this morning accompanied by a fine band of music from Macomb McDonough County Ills. Capt. Hitts Co. arrived this afternoon from Exeter Scott County Ills
Tuesday 13th. Three Co's. from Egypt arrived to day. No drilling to day.
Wednesday 14th. Capt. Parkes arrived about 2 O'clock this morning with 18 men.

1861 Camp Buter Sagamon co. Ills
Thursday, August 15th Officers drill this morning at seven O'clock. Squad drill from half past 8 till 10 O'clock. Officers drill at 4 Oc'lock in the afternoon.
Friday, 16th The same routine of Yesterday. Comps. arriving all the time.
Saturday, 17th. Officers and Squad drill in the forenoon. In the afternoon no drill. Co. sworn into service at 12 M.
Sunday, 18th. Nothing of importance occurred today. Meeting at 4 O'clock P. M. Comp rec'd their uniform to day.
Boys all well pleased Articles of war read at Rool call Monday, 19th. Roll call at 5 and ½ O'clock Officers at 7 A. M. Squad drill as usual. Lieut. L. F. Williams with a grant of 5 days absence left for Pike Co. on business concerning the Co.
Thursday, 22d. Four men from Coffeys Co. joined ours this evening.
Friday, 23rd. The 4 men that joined our Comp yesterday evening were sworn in this morning

1861 Camp Butler, Sagamon co Ills.
August, Saturday, 24th. Morning quite cool. Williams returned last night with 3 recruits. Co. now consists of 82 men rank and file. Capt. Killpatrick's Comp. arrived from Milton Pike County Ills. last evening. Capt Hunts Comp. from Barry arrived today. A Comp. from Bellville St. Clair County also arrived to day, accompanied by a brass band Brown County Cavalry Comp. Came this morning.
Sunday, 25th. Roll call as usual 5½ A. M. Meeting at 10 A. M. Rather dull in capm. drissling rain in the afternoon An order to leave to-morrow. Quite a No. of men have the ague. It is getting to be quite sickly here Hospital is pretty near full of sick. Thirteen men from Smiths Comp. from Galena came this evening and joined our Comp.

1861 Camp at Jacksonville Morgan co. Ills.
August, 26th. Monday morning, Roll call at 5 Breakfast at 5½ O'clock. Immediately after breakfast the 13 men who joined last evening were examined and sworn into the service.

Left Camp Butler with 6 other Companies at ½ past 10 O'clock marched to Jim Town left on the train at ½ past 11, arrived at Jacksonville at 3 P. M. marched from the depot to our present encampment nearly 1½ miles very

[1] See Adjutant General's certificate, above, p. 228.

hot and dusty. Had rations enough left of the amt. drawn of the commissary at Camp Butler for our supper Would not issue rations to us this evening, for tomorrow through some mistake or other Have a nice pleasant place for our Camp high dry and healthy.
August 27th Tuesday. Had no breakfast this morning except some we borrowed of Capt. Hitt. The Quarter Master is a d—d mean man in the opinion of our Comp. he issued no rations to us yesterday evening, nor came from town this morning until after 9 O'clock Capt Parke is Officer of the day to day Furlough granted to F. T. Clark Joel Knipp and Robt. Chapman running from this date till Saturday 31st August.
August 28th. Drill this morning from 6 till 7 O'clock Orders to march tomorrow at 12 M. to Cairo. Some disappointment among the men but
1861 Camp at Jacksonville Morgan Co. Ills.
August 28th generally resigned to go where they are ordered. It was hoped that we would be ordered to Mo. but those hopes are now blighted and we will now go to one of the most unhealthy spots in the U. S. to stay we know not how long Well anything to save our Union Our beloved country let it be what it will.

August 29.

Reveille early this morning preparations for leaving Camp McClernand, Tents struck at a few minutes after 10 A. M. Baggage packed & loaded by ½ past 11 A. M. Companies on parade ¼ past 12 M. Marched into Jacksonville at 1 O'clock P. M. in court yard till 4 O'clock P. M. Marched to the cars, nothing but open cars for the men, Large crowd at the depot to witness our departure. Had some trouble while at the depot with private Sullivan, he was drunk had to tie him for refusing to be still, Left Springfield at 10 minutes past 5 P. M. amid the firing of cannon and immense cheering of the citisens 1st Sergent Browning left behind to recruit his health, to follow up as soon as that will permit. Arrived at Decatur without anything of moment transpiring. At 1 O'clock on the morning of the 30th issued some rations of hard crackers & cheese to the men Changed cars; better accommodations from there, to Cairo, in passenger coaches but nothing better to eat. Arrived at Cairo at 4 O'clock P. M. marched to quarters on the open plain above the city.
1861 Camp Defiance Cairo Ills.
August 31st Roll call, Squad drill this morning. after breakfast men set to work—cleaning up the groun Repeated firing of cannon in the artillery frill at Birds Point—One man nearly killed by the discharge of a cannon Morning report made out and handed in at Head Quarters 2 men in addition to last report—Aggregate No. of men in Parkes comp now 98. both sworn into the service by the Col. Rations of bread short this morning through the rascality or neglect of the Quartermaster—great dissatisfaction throughout the camp on account of it. Col. saw to the matter and bread here by half after 8 O'clock tonight.

September the 1st.

Sunday morning, roll call as usual at 5½ O'clock Inspection of men & tents at 9 o'clock by the Col. & Lt. Col Pass granted to 8 men to visit Birds Point Also 1 large Squad to attend Church.
Nothing doing to day. John Brown & Elijah Hickman went into Town to day without a pass—came back drunk Compelled to tie Hickman—will be put on extra duty to-morrow Weather pleasant—continues dry.

September 2nd Monday morning clear and fine.

Roll call at 5½ A. M. as usual—Breakfast at 6½ Squad drill &c. more activity will be observed this week in drilling than heretofore. Lt. L. F. Williams appointed junior Officer of the Guard to day. One of our men who came from town yesterday in a state of intoxication—by name John Brown is very sick to day—great suffering & pain in his stomach and lower extremities—supposed to emanate from poison in the liquor drank yesterday. The 2 gun boats stationed here left this afternoon & 1 Regt. of In from Birds

Point,—their destination & the No. of the Regt. we are not informed. Heavy firing heard at 8 O'clock this evening in the direction of New-Madrid Mo. supposed that our Gun Boats have engaged the enemy at that point

Sep. 3rd Tuesday Morning.

Weather fine & pleasant,—with indications of rain Duties of the morning as usual—much rejoicing through out the camp—though no open demonstration—at the news of the success of Gen. Butler in his operations on the coast of N. C. Received this morning. Conflicting reports concerning the result or doings of the expidition sent down the Miss. River yesterday. More troops sent down from Birds Point to day across the country to the scene of action. Where it is not yet known in camp, some say it is Columbus, Some New Madrid, no person knows anything definite about the movements going on at Head Quarters—here all military movements are kept secret by the Senior Officers of the different commands at both Posts Cairo & Birds Point. Commenced raining about 4 O'clock this afternoon which put an end to squad drill & set the men to work putting their tents to rights & preparing for a spell of weather. Firing heard this evening again in the same direction as that of last evening Still raining at 10 O'clock.

Sept. 4th Wednesday morning cloudy drissling rain, very unpleasant underfoot—quite a No. not out at Roll Call—placed on Extra Duty in consequence. Our Co. placed on Police Duty to day—by order of the Col.

1861 Camp McClernand Cairo Ills.

it is therefore exempt from drill to day no news of consequences. has rained at intervals all day The Two Gun Boats have returned, reported to have had a brush with a Gun Boat of the Enemy's—called Yankee—near a place called Hickman in which the latter was worsted Also bombarded the place. News of Jefferson Davis' death this evening generally not credited

Sept. 5th morning duties performed as usual Lt Allen Officer of the Guard to day. Weather pleasant but showery.—nothing of importance but drilling. Water scarce on account of negligence of water master. Death of Jeff Davis confirmed today—that is still believed. Report this evening that Pillow is within one days march of Birds Point—4 Comp from th 9th Regt. And the Chicago light Artillery left to night tis said for Columbus Ky.

Sept. 6th Friday weather pleasant. Drilling and other duties performed as usual. 60 muskets drawn by our Company this afternoon Other Comps. in our Regt. also have drawn in proportion to the number of men. No news of consequence to day Great activity through out the camp, however in our vicinity

Sept. 7th Saturday.

No variation in the daily routine of duties to day One of our men Thomas Onwhistle severely reprinanded for disrespect towards the Col. At Dress Parade this evening 48 of our men were ordered on patrol dutty for the night in the City of Cairo. 2 Regts. left for Paducah Ky. which place is now occupied by Gen. Grant Commandant of this

1861. Camp McClernand Cairo Ills.

Post. Successor to Gen. Prentiss.

Sept 8th Sunday morning The 48 of our camp, detailed as patrol last night returned this morning at 5½ O'clock Roll call as usual. Heavy and incessant firing heard this morning from 7 till 9 O'clock down the river in the direction of Columbus. Two boat loads of Troops arrived this morning from St. Louis. Inspection on Co. parade ground by the Field Officers at 9 O'clock Dress Parade this evening at the usual hour

Sept. 9th Monday morning

Duties as usual performed. no Officers drill this morning as was given out last evening on Dress Parade Abut 10 O'clock to day one of the Gun Boats arrived to Port with 3 Prizes in tow. One said to be laden with tobacco—tis not known here yet the substance of the prizes Reported this Afternoon

that 1 of the Gun Boats was taken this morning by the enemy. Col. Oglesbys Regt. & the other Gun Boat have gone down Col. Watters Regt. arrived at Birds Point this evening

Sept. 10th Tuesday Morning

Reported capture of our Gun Boat proves to be false L. W. Williams detailed as Officer of the Guard to day Officers Drill this morning. Nothing of importance to day.

Sept. 11. Stormy Night.

Indications this morning good for a rainy day A marvelous assault was committed at the St. Charles Hotel yesterday by the Reporter of the St. Louis Democrat on the person of the surgeon on the 8th Mo Regt. The surgeon was shot in the small of the back by a pistol ball wound not mortal

1861. Camp McClernand Cairo Ills.

September 11th The reporter gave himself up and is now in custody. Dress Parade omitted this evening on account of the inclemency of the weather.

Sept. 12th—Thursday Morning

Duties of the morning gone through with as usual Our Company on Police Duty to day cleaning up the Parade ground & digging sinks. nothing of importance transpired to day. Dress Parade this evening as usual.

Sept. 13th Friday Everything quiet about camp today Lt Allen on guard to day,—Officer of the Guard—. No news of importance to day.

Sept. 14th Saturday

Duties as usual this morning. The Regt on Police duty today, cleaning up the regimental Parade ground. News encouraging from the seat of war to day. reported fight going on down the river near Norfolk on the Mo. side this evening.

Sept. 15th Sunday Morning

bright and beautiful. Three Comps. arrived this morning making out Regt. complete Each Cap. drew co. letter this morning by lotery out Capt. drew letter C. Situation of each Co. has been changed a little to conform with the lettering Dress Parade this evening Our new Chaplain introduced[1]

Sept. 16th Monday.

Police Duty as usual, respective Companies fixing up their camp ground. Nothing of importance to day except the arrival of a Comp. of 50 men from Crittenden County Ky. for camp Butler. also Col. Jurchins (Turchin) 19th Ills. Regt. came up the river from their camp on the KB. Side opposite Norfolk their destination is not yet known. The court martial of Capt. Hitts man for insubordination set to day, tis known what the sentence is

Sept. 17th—Tuesday.

Officers Drill as usual this morning Drilling as heretofore Nothing to day of importance.

Sept. 18th Wednesday.

Officers Drill omitted this morning. weather fine Duties as usual.

Sept. 19th Thursday.

Capt. Parke too unwell for duty to day No news everything going on smoothly as usual.

Sept. 20th Friday.

Nothing of importance to day. Capt. Parke went to the Hospital this morning. Daily routine as usual prospect for a rain to night.

Sept. 21st Saturday.

Dull as the Devil to day—nothing but Drill Drill through this afternoon we have nothing to do but clean up quarters & go on Dress Parade this evening.

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[1] See Eddy, The Patriotism of Illinois, II., pp. 53-54. The 27th Illinois was raised for the most part in the counties of Adams, Scott, Pike, Madison, Jersey, Mason, Macoupin, Mercer, Jackson, Henry and Morgan. Eddy states that it was mustered into service at Camp Butler on the 10th of August, 1861. Some of the officers who will be mentioned in this diary are: Colonel, N. B. Buford; Lieutenant-Colonel, F. A. Harrington; Adjutant, Henry A. Rust; Quartermaster, David B. Sears; Chaplain, S. Young McMasters; Captain W. A. Schmitt of Company A; Captain Jonathan R. Miles of Company F, who later becomes Colonel of the regiment. The officers of Company C, of which our diarist was a member, at this time were: Captain, Lemuel Parke; 1st Lieutenant, Lyman G. Allen; 2nd Lieutenant, Laommi F. Williams.

Sept. 22nd Sunday.
Inspection of arms as usual by the Field Officers L. F. Williams Officer of the Guard to day. Preaching in the camp to day by Chaplain of our Regt. at 11 o'clock Our Chaplain is a Catholic.

Sept. 23rd Monday
Our Comp. is on Police Duty again to day— Battalion Drill this afternoon without arms the comp. all went through the drill very for the first time
1861 Camp McClernand. Cairo Ills.
Sept. 24th. Tuesday. Ten men on Police Duty again to day Nighswonger refused to act having been detailed—in consequence was put in the Guard House on Bread & water time indefinite. Private in the Guard House Also for drunkeness.

Sept. 25th. Wednesday.
Morning Drill. near 20 on the sick list this morning Bad news from Mo. Lexington has been taken by Gen Price. Private Hobbs in Guard House at Cairo for sleeping on his Post, last night while guarding prisoners. 4 prisoners brought in this evening—from near Norfolk Mo. taken after a pretty hard fight—in which 12 of the Enemy were killed—and a lot of arms taken, One of the prisoners has a pretty severe cut across the shoulder.

Sept. 26th Thursday.
Observance is paid to "Fast Day., Services at 10 O'clock by our Chaplain—toward 10 O'clock the weather cleared off & became very pleasant.
Dress Parade in the evening As usual nothing of importance has passed of in our vicinity to day

Sept. 27th Friday cold & blustry
Drilling exercises as usual in the forenoon with Battalion Drill in the afternoon & Dress Parade in the evening Our Capt. ranks higher than any other Capt. in the Regt. as his commission is the oldest Lt. Allen Officer of the Guard to day at Cairo.

Sept. 28th Saturday.
Men slow about turning out into ranks for Drill Comp. Drill from 9½ till 11½ men paid attention & performed well today. Dress Parade this evening & short Battalion Drill this afternoon
1861 Camp McClernand, Cairo, Ills.
Sept. 29th Sunday morning clear & cool Roll call as usual,—Inspection of the arms & quarters—a portion of the Comp. went to town to church Services as usual by the Chaplain, tis reported this morning that Capt. Ritters Comp. at Birds Point while guarding a bridge on the R. R. 10 miles from camp were surrounded and taken prisoners.

Sept. 30th. Monday.
Cool & bracing. Drilling at usual hours Capt. Parke Officer of the Day Weather quite warm and pleasant after 9 O'clock Report of the capture of Ritters Comp. remain unchanged. Battalion Drill this afternoon. Dress Parade at the proper hour—Volleys of musketry were heard at Birds Point this afternoon—but suppose it occurred in the practice of loading and firing

October 1st Tuesday.
Cooks were discharged this morning their time having expired The reported capture of Capt. Ritters comp proves to be false comp Drills in the forenoon to day And Battalion Drill as usual. Another report is comon this evening that our troops have been driven from Norfolk and falling back on Birds Point the Enemy advancing Fifteen Thousand strong.

Oct 2nd Wednesday morning dark & gloomy Drissling rain Roll call as usual but Drill omitted. no drilling to day whatever An order was issued by the Gen. about 11 O'clock to day for 10 men and one Lieut. with arms and 10 rounds of ammunition each Dress Parade as usual this evening.
1861 Camp McClernand, Cairo Ills.
Oct 3rd Thursday Sun rose clear and bright Duties as usual performed. unusually quiet and dull about camp Nothing of importance transpiring. Duties of the day closed as usual with Dress Parade

Oct. 4th Friday
Battalion Drill as usual this afternoon. Lt. William taken sick with the measles to day nothing of importance transpiring to day.

Oct. 5th Saturday morning clear & nice Health of camp improving only 3 of our Comp. now in the Hospital. Capt. Parke making arrangements for going home—has drawn his pay from the Pay Master. Drilling as usual both forenoon and afternoon

Oct 6th Sunday
Rained last night nearly all night, this morning it is cold gloomy and disagreeable No inspection this morning on account of the inclemency of the weather towards evening it fared off and tis now pleasant weather Capt. Parke has succeeded in getting a furlough to day for 7 days absence—he will for home to-morrow morning at 4 O'clock. Williams quite sick to day

Oct. 7th Monday morning clear and pleasant. Duties as usual. Battalion Drill as usual
Nothing of importance to day.

Oct 8th clear & pleasant looks like Indian Summer. Health of camp decidedly improving. Our comp numbers increasing on Dress Parade

1861 Camp McClernand Cairo Ills.

October, 9th Morning clear and pleasant. Every thing passing off nicely and smoothly in camp.

Oct 10th Thursday pleasant—Nothing of importance transpiring to day Col. Harrington returned to day.

Oct 11th. Friday—very pleasant—no news unusually quiet in camp. Distressingly dull nothing but Drill Drill all the time.

Oct 12th Saturday. Morning clear and pleasant—Drill in the forenoon Battalion Drill in the afternoon all the Regt. out also the Bloody 18th Col Lawler was up on parade with us tis said his Regt. has joined our Brigade

Oct 13th Sunday morning clear as a bell and as pleasant almost as a summers morning—Inspection of the Company by the Col. at 9 O'clock, church as usual. Passes were granted to quite a number to Birds Point.

Oct. 14th Monday morning clear air and bracing. Drilling from 6 to 7 O'clock. to day is Pay Day Comps. A. & E. are paid first—as they are going off on a scouting expidition—To-morrow we get paid, the boys are over joyed at getting their pay, have been disappointed so often that they had no confidence any more as to the promised pay day. Have no Battalion Drill to day. A stern wheel Boat came up the River this afternoon with a flag of Truce flying The purport of her visit is no known This Brigade was ordered down town on Double Quick this evening and paraded about an hour on the levy

Oct 15th Tuesday usual routine of camp duties Our Regt. has rec'd marching orders this evening a 6 O'clock it marched to the landing the men armed and equipped and supplied with 2 Days rations Shipped on the Alec Scott and

1861 Camp McClernand Cairo

company with the Iron Gun Boat went up the Mississippi destination unknown but generally believed to be Cape Girardeau Two of our Co. slipped through the guard to day—Wm Sullivan and Robt. Felan. Three more rec'd passes all of whom were not here when the Regt. started. The 2nd Lieut of each co. have been to take care of the camp & those that are on the sick list. Lieut Allen the only com. Officer who accompanied our Co, Capt. Parke has not yet returned. One of the men Joel Knip who was granted a pass to town to day—was found on the levy at one of the Groggerys pretty well set up about 9 O'clock this evening and brought into camp no tidings of the others.

Oct. 16th Wednesday, Rather gloomy morning Not enough men in camp to make any stir as those who were on the sick list only were left behind. Robt. Felan was found to day and brought into camp. William Sullivan could not be found. the day has been spent in a fruitless search for them tis supposed they fell in with the Co. as the Regt. marched to the landing.

Oct. 17th Thursday Still cloudy no news of importance Nothing to do in camp since our Regt. left. All quiet about the Brigade camp. The other Regts. are constantly drilling. No Capt. Parke yet. He ought to be made work on the fortifications ten days with a Ball & Chain to his leg No tidings of Sullivan Hickman & Brown to day have kept up a constant search for them. The day has closed without anything worthy of note.

Oct. 18th Friday morning Still dark and gloomy with a drissling rain. Our Regt. returned about 8½ O'clock had no brush with the Enemy took 600 or 700 bushels wheat & 4 secesh prisoners. Battalion Drill this afternoon

1861 Camp McClernand Cairo Ills.

Nothing of an exciting character has transpired to day O& Co. of Light Artillery left camp cairo this afternoon where bound tis not known with us. Hickman & Brown were with the Regt. found Wm Sullivan today.

Oct. 19th Saturday the appearance for rain still very good co. Drill as usual, no Guards called for from our Regt. to day. Nothing to note down to day. Battalion Drill till a very late hour—exempting us from Dress Parade

Oct. 20th Sunday Inspection as usual. Services at 11 O'clock by our Chaplain, weather very pleasant has the appearance of Indian summer No news of importance today Dress Parade as usual this evening.

Oct. 21st Monday, Roll call as usual Quite cool rather unpleasant sleeping last night under One blanket Lt. F. Williams Officer of the Guard to day Lt Allen is still unwell and unable for Duty Neglected to mention the arrest of private Josiah Lise[nbee] yesterday for stealing Private Henry Vamers money $(800) sometime during Saturday night. Said Lisenbee is now under arrest in Guard House—awaiting his trial by Court Martial.

Oct. 22nd Tuesday morning weather cool though during the day tis very pleasant
The news of Jeff Thompson's defeat at Fredrictown by our forces causes much rejoicing in camp the news came this evening by telegraph Lt. Allen has succeeded in getting his pay to day—due for the Mo. of September & a furlough home for seven days he leaves to-morrow morning on the 4 O'clock train, prospects for a storm

1861 Camp McClernand Cairo Illinois.

Oct. 23rd Wednesday morning very cool—quite a change since yesterday. No rain last, night Sad news this morning another *good man* gone the way of all the Earth—Col. Ed. D. Barker (Baker) One of the best of Orators and the boast of our nation fell while gallantly leading his Regt. at the Battle near Leesburg Virginia Another sacrifice to the glorius cause of liberty. Ten men detailed out of each comp. armed with brooms & shovels for the purpose of cleaning up the barracks, and preparing quarters for our Regt. down in Camp Cairo.

Oct. 24th Thursday, quite cool but not so unpleasant as yesterday.—A very heavy frost during the night the first we have had here this season. Capt. Parke is on duty at Cairo to day Officer of the day—Orders from the Col. to move into the Barracks to-morrow.

Oct. 25th Friday As soon as breakfast is finished—preparations for moving to the barracks Co.s A. B. C. and so on respectively.—struck their tents and went into the barrack Dress Parade in the evening.———————

Camp Cairo, Illinois

Oct. 26th Saturday morning fogy and damp Drill as usual before breakfast no Drill this forenoon. Regt. was called out this forenoon for inspection that is the inspecting of men. The no. of men out on drill—the sick list—& those absent from Camp not agreeing with the morning report, consequently there is a number that undoubtedly shirk from duty. This afternoon the review before Gen. McClernand came off.—tomorrow we have a Grand Review.

Oct 27th Sunday. Regimental inspection this morning.—Religious services by our Chaplain Grand Review commenced this evening at 2½ O'clock continued till 5, before Gen. McClernand and Staff. The forces which passed

Camp Cairo, Illinois.

under review were Five Regts. of Infantry One of cavalry and one Battery of flying Artillery. The review has been pronounced a splendid affair Every thing passed off in fine style

Oct. 28th Monday morning Drill as usual Forenoon Drill—Battalion this evening—Day has closed as usual (by the sun's going down)

Oct. 29th Tuesday morning cool Routine of Drilling as usual—Battalion Drill superintended by the Lieut. Col. Nothing new as usual—The same dull monotony seems to pervade the camp as usual.

Oct. 30th Wednesday morning still clear & cold Routine of Drill gone through with. Battalion Drill this forenoon and afternoon. One of the Orders published on Dress Parade this evening—was the acceptance of the resignation of Lieut. Buchanan of Comp B. this Regt.

Oct. 31st Thursday morning still cool Regimental muster for Pay. The forces now stationed here are all mustered to day—on the Brigade parade ground—An Order placing Capt. Hart under arrest by Col. Buford[1]—was read this evening on Dress Parade.

November. the 1st Friday morning Comp. Drill from 9, to 11, weather does not seem to moderate much A Slight drizzling rain commenced falling about Two O'clock prevented Drilling in the afternoon undress Parade. Capt R. S. More ordered under arrest by Col. Buford, published on Dress Parade

Nov. 2nd Saturday colder than ever morning Drill as usual. Our Co. is on Police Duty to day L. F. Williams Captain of the Guard to day by order of H. A. Rust

1861 Camp Cairo, Illinois November, 1861

Nov. 2nd Capt. Parke Capt. Merrill & Liut Stout are to day placed under arrest—by order of that Benevolent Old Creature,—Col. Buford. The nature of the charges to be preferred against them is still a mystery to all. but some of the more knowing ones are slyly hinting around that a petition has been gotten up here in camp, setting forth the objections to Col. Buford as a Col. & respectfully soliciting him to resign his Office, & that said petition has been signed by said Officers—for which offense his majesty has seen fit to place them under arrest: how true this is remains to be seen.

Nov. 3rd Sunday morning,

Inspection of arms and quarters at 9 O'clock. Religious services at the regular hour, by the Chaplain Rev. McMasters It has claered off and the day is quite pleasant. During this afternoon Those Officers who were placed under arrest have affected a compromise the full particulars of which I am not now able to state but the substance of which is that the Petition shall be destroyed

[1]Napoleon B. Buford was a graduate of West Point, law student, assistant professor at West Point, 1833 to 1835, civil engineer, Illinois merchant, banker and railroad builder. At the outbreak of the Civil War, his banking business was ruined due to large investments in Southern State bonds. He gave up all his property to satisfy his obligations and was commissioned Colonel of the 27th Illinois Volunteers by Governor Yates. For his gallant conduct at the battles of Belmont, Island No. 10, and Union City he was commissioned Brigadier-General by the President. When he left the service, he held the commission of Major-General. Eddy, Patriotism of Illinois, II., pp. 56-57.

by them and he withdraws all charges. Lieut. Allen returned from home to day The 18th Regt. and the 29th Col. Reardon have both been ordered away this afternoon Destination not known yet Dress Parade this evening as usual.

Nov. the 4th Monday morning comfort -ably cool Routine of Duties as usual. Capt. Parke Officer of the day at camp Cairo Every thing quiet in camp Weather very pleasant Battalion Drill this afternoon General Paine from Paducah and Adjt. Gen. M. Breyman of this place present. We drew 36 Overcoats to day for our Co. and the full complment of Haversacks.

1861 Camp Cairo Illinois.

Nov. 4th 8 men detailed from our Regt. as Extra Duty men to work on Fortifications. Joel Knip detailed from our Comp. for Ten Days commencing tomorrow Dress Parade at the usual hour.

Nov. 5th Tuesday morning quite pleasant.

Usual Duties performed. Lt. Allen Officer of the Guard Joseph Lisenbee who now is at liberty is ordered by the Col. to clean up and keep in order everything about the Co. Quarters Lieut Allen Officer of the Guard to day Battalion Drill as usual this afternoon. Ordered for dispensing with all Drill before 10 O'clock A. M. as recommended by the Medical Board was read this afternoon on Dress Parade.

Nov. 6th Wednesday

No Drill this morning. We have rec'd marching Orders, also the 30th 31st & 7th Iowa 22 Ills. and 2 Co's Cavalry and one Battery of Artillery. At 10 O'clock we had Gen. Inspection by the Field Officers for ascertaining the condition of the men their accoutrements Guns &c. The balance of the day until 4 O'clock was occupied in preparing for a march. At 3 O'clock the 30th, 31st & one Co. of Cavalry, (Capt. Noleman) embarked on board the Steamer Key Stone. Alec Scott & Chancelor, at 4 O'clock our Regt. 27th embarked on Board the Steamer Montgomery[1] The Memphis at the same time was laying at Birds Point taking on on the 22nd Ills. at about 6 O'clock Alec Scott with the 30th and 31st Regts and Gen. McClernand on board the Balance following suit. Stopping at Birds Point and Fort Holt for the Iowa 7th & Capt Delano's cavalry Co. The fleet then dropped down the river a few miles to Island No. 1 Where we lay till the next morning.

1861 Camp Cairo Illinois

Nov. 7th Thursday Morning no Drill this morning. At day light the fleet once more get under way and in Co. with the 2 Gun Boats Lexington and Tyler Proceede down the River to a point 3 miles above Columbus; landed on the Mo. side. Disembarked all of our forces the 27th taking the lead we marched around to a point about 3 miles distant from our landing place and about opposite the enemys encampment at Belmont opposite Columbus & on this side of the River. By throwing out skirmishers from our right flank the position of the enemy was ascertained. The 30th & 31st Regts were then sent forward to engage him, the 30th to attack the center & 31st his left flank while the 22nd Ills. 7th Iowa & Taylors Battery supported the center The 31st were the first to engage the enemy and soon the action became general, from left to center. The 27th which in the mean time had been lying at the point from which skirmishers had been sent out was now ordered around to attack him on his right flank which we did though at a great disadvantage having to fight him in his own position among fallen timbers, after one hour's hard fighting we had the satisfaction of driving him from his

[1] Compare with the report of General U. S. Grant, Nov. 17, 1861. War of the Rebellion, Official Records Series I., vol. III., p. 269. In all 3,114 men were sent "to make a demonstration against Columbus. I proceeded down the river to a point about 9 miles below here [Cairo], where we lay until next morning, on the Kentucky shore, which served to distract the enemy and led him to suppose that he was to be attacked in his strongly fortified position at Columbus."

encampment tearing down their "cursed Rag" and planting the stars and stripes where it had lately waved.[1] Here was scene presented to the Eye which can be easier imagined than than described.

All over the Battle field they scattered and in heaps The dead and the dying Friend and Foe lay in close proximity to each other. Some torn asunder by cannon balls some with frightful wounds here and there in different parts of the body Some were killed out right with musket balls through the temples or forehead others with limbs torn completely off suffering the most torturing agonies 'twas a most horrible sight to contemplate But we were not allowed but a very short time to contemplate for the enemy by this time had reinforced by Cheatham's Brigade of Five Thousand men again advanced upon us evidently with the intention of cutting off our retreat. And just at this moment they commenced shelling us from Columbus from their Batteries of 60 Guns, The shells fell among us thick and fast. However previous to this we had the satisfaction setting fire to their Camp & destroying it. Now the command in order to work its way back to boats—had to its way through the enemy—resulting in the loss of many brave fellows killed and wounded the enemy pursuing until we reached the boats. Our forces having embarked safely before they came up Except the 27th which in order to evade the enemy,—our Sagacious Col. as he has proved himself to be in this day's fight marched around the Bayou some Three miles above where the boats lay, Thereby escaping the terrible fire to which the balance of our forces were exposed.

Our Regt. was brought up by the Gun Boat Lexington.[2]

Nov. 23rd Morris deserted to day has not been heard from since very early this morning.

Nov. 31st Fifty Seven or Eight men with Capt. Parke and Lt. Williams were detailed this evening as Extra Duty men to go to Cave in Rock Ills., 100 miles up the Ohio for the purpose of loading stone. Went aboard the Key Stone at 8 O'clock.

Dec. 5th Daniel Vanvoltenberg died to day from the effects of Typhoid fever

Dec 11th Extra Duty portion of the Company returned from Cave In Rock to day with numbers undiminished.

1862 Camp Cairo Ills.

Jan. 1st Wednesday morning clear and pleasant. Routine of the morning as usual. No drilling to day. The Col. for the diversion of his Officers—obtained the use of one of the Steam Tugs which are daily running to & fro in the harbor—for a pleasure excursion A portion of the command for the morning voyage—another portion for the evening. Capt. Parke & Lieut. Williams were among the passengers in the forenoon Lieut Allen remained in camp intending to go in the afternoon but did not We had a very pleasant trip of it first visiting Birds Point paying our compliments to Gen Paine —the new commander The performances of the day ended with Dress Parade.

January 2nd Thursday morning

Cloudy air heavy and damp. Drill by Cos. in the forenoon Set in raining in the afternoon—preventing Battalion Drill. Raining ceased towards evening Dress Parade—finis—

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[1]Colonel Buford of the 27th Illinois in his official report of Nov. 9, 1861, praises the work of his men in the following words: "It was our first action. We encountered great odds; the enemy in his fortified position, the thunder of the heavy artillery from Columbus, the whizzing of rifled cannon; we had no guides. How could soldiers who had only volunteered a few days ago be expected to brave such odds? But they did brave them." War of the Rebellion, Official Records, Series I., vol. III., p. 285.

[2]See the report of General Grant for the verification of this episode. Nov. 17, 1861. War of the Rebellion, Official Records, Series I., vol. III., pp. 269-271. See especially p. 271: "At this point, to avoid the effect of the shells from the gunboats that were beginning to fall among his men, he [Colonel Buford] took a blind path direct to the river, and followed a wood road up its bank, and thereby avoided meeting the enemy, who were retiring by the main road. On his appearance on the river bank a steamer was dropped down, and took his command on board, without his having participated or lost a man in the enemy's attempt to cut us off from our transports." For further light on this engagement see Ibid. pp. 275, 277-280, 282-285, 288, 289, 291.

Jan. 3rd Friday morning cloudy & misting rain. Weather prohibiting the usual duties. Our pleasant weather which has continued ever since the first of September has now taken its final leave we all think Dress Parade again this evening—Notwithstanding the mud

January 4th Saturday morning

Cold & gloomy as usual misting rain Co. on police Duty to day the inclemency of the weather prohibits Drilling

Dress Parade as usual.

Jan 5th Sunday morning Still cloudy & cool Inspection of Barracks at 9 O'clock, Call for church at 11 am. where the men are permitted to go to which church they please

Lieut. Allen Officer of the Guard. No Dress Parade this evening but Roll Call or Co. Report

1862 Camp Cairo, Illinois.

Jan. 6th Monday morning cool. Lt. Williams with 7 men were ordered in to the Fort to Drill on the artillery. Battalion Drill at 3 O'clock P. M. Very short Dress Parade. The Col. & lady gave a party to a few selected friends this evening

Jan 7th Tuesday morning cloudy & misting rain, too mudy to drill nothing doing to day.

Jan. 8th Wednesday morning cloudy and damp Raining the most of the day. Rec'd marching orders this evening Have orders to march on board the Boat at 12 O'clock to-morrow No Dress Parade this evening on a/c of the inclemency of the Weather, The Col. gave a dinner to the Officers to day

January 9th Thursday morning cloudy

Preparations making early this morning for our march Marched to the landing at 2 O'clock. The Brigade is all ready for embarkation but there is such a fog on the river that the expedition is postponed until the fog clears away The troops are marched back to their quarters with the expectation of leaving to-morrow morning any how. Too muddy for Dress Parade this evening.

Jan. 10th Friday morning still cloudy But the fog has cleared off somewhat,—and we have marching Orders for Ten O'clock,—At 10 O'clock we marched aboard the Memphis to gether with the 18th Regt. at about One O'clock we pushed out into the stream. The boat headed towards Secessia. After 3 hours ride we landed at Camp Jefferson Six miles below this place & there went into camp By night Seven Regts of Infantry—about 10 Cos. of Cavalry and Two Batteries of artillery had landed and encamped

The embarkation and debarkation was accomplished without much[1] difficulty

1862 Camp Cairo, Ills.

Jan. 11th Saturday morning cloudy. From present appearances one would think our stay here would be for several days—as there is no stir in camp,—probably waiting for the other forces to come up before we take up our line of march Our present camp is near the ruins of Fort Jefferson. A Fort erected in Jeffersons time—during the Indian war upon the frontier & was at one time a stronghold of Daniel Boone Dress Parade this evening.

Jan. 12th Sunday morning

pleasant but cloudy, George W. Clarks 24th Birth Day he is Corporal of the Guard to day. Lt. Allen has gone up to Cairo to day for Provisions. About 2 O'clock our Regt. moved from our original position to the foot of the hill for better protection from the cold north wind Allen returned late this evening Provisions for the Regt. for Five days.

[1] Report of General J. A. McClernand, Jan. 24, 1862. War Records, Series I., vol. VII., p. 68.

Jan. 13th Monday morning. It snowed a little during last night, tis very cold this morning Lt Williams Officer of the Guard, nothing has occurred since our arrival to disturb the quiet of our camp.

Jan 14th Weather still very cold, marching orders have been issued and at 10 O'clock we leave this place for a different locality. The 10th & 18th Regts. and one Battery of artillery in front —our Regt. next the 29th 30th 31st & 48th the train of wagons &c. Bal of artillery & cavalry bringing up the rear Near sundown we encamped near a place called Blamville having marched a distance of 9 miles for the first day.

Firing has been heard all this afternoon in the direction of Columbus One or Two of our Gun Boats have dropped down and are answering them by throwing a few shot and shell into their intrenchments

1862 Camp Cairo, Illinois. January

January 15th still cloudy but warmer. We march at 8 O'clock— our route is in the direction of Columbus, at 3 O'clock we come to a halt and prepare for encamping for the night, on the farm of an old secessionist, to night we hear that forces from Birds Point & Fort Holt have encamped on our old Ground Camp Jefferson.

Jan. 16th Our march is resumed again this morning—but not in the direction of Columbus. Our course is now towards Milburn a little town 7 miles distant from our last encampment, Which we reached about 3 O'clock P. M. On the account of water we had to march 4 or 5 miles farther taking the direction of Paducah after leaving Milburn we encamped for the night about 9 O'clock. Lieut Allen was left behind at Milburn not being able to proceed any farther, Lt, Brock also staid with him.

Jan. 17th Saturday morning rained like the mischief last night, Our camp flooded with water. The 10th Ills. have no tents and they are in an awful fix. Our men have not a full ration this morning—a little grumbling consequently—traveling is awful—roads are very mudy Branches are high and it rains almost continually The coat tail of the writer get very mudy and is consequently very heavy. WE travel to within one mile of Blanville and encamp for the night. The boys have one dram of whisky to night issued by the Qr. Master Lieut Allen has been with the teams to day not able to walk, He caught up with us at Lovelaceville.

Jan. 18th Sunday morning Roll Call absentees Privates John Hannant, Isaac Lawson who fell behind yesterday—we will lay here to day as it is the Sabbath, the boys are all tired and are glad to get a rest.

1862 Camp Cairo Illinois January

January 19th Monday morning Rall Call as usual And preparations for an early march to the river from where we started last Tuesday a distance of about 9 miles. It is our desire when we get to the river to embark and get to our old qrs to night. But after a hard days march Gen. McClernand sees proper to send other Regts in advance of ours consequently we are left to encamp on the same old ground Lt. Allen has permission to go to Cairo to night as he is unwell.

January 20th Tuesday weather still cloudy and cold—Well we do not get off till 12 O'clock and we are delayed at the landing sometime Arrive at Cairo about 4 O'clock where our Col. gives his "beloved Regt." a salute from the Fort and has the portion of the Regt. left behind drawn up in line on the levee to receive us which is done with all the usual formalities of the military school. Then marched to our qrs. where after being drawn up previous to dismissal the Col. made a few remarks—expressing himself a being highly honored by commanding such a Regt. for their good morals.

February 1st Saturday morning. Our Regt. on Guard to day. Rec'd our Pay yesterday. Sixteenth Ills. arrived here last night. To day they have gone over to Birds Point. This evening we rec'd. marching orders, were countermanded however about 8 O'clock.
Feb. 2nd Troops are embarking all day from 10 O'clock & during the night all has gone on smoothly. the expedition is bound up the Ohio Tennessee & Cumberland Rivers, Col. Buford is left in command of this Post
1862. Camp Cairo, Illinois, February.
Feb. 3rd Monday. Storm has abated. The troops that were enbarking yesterday will all leave to day. One soldier was drowned yesterday evening by being shoved overboard Gens. McClernand & Grant & Staffs respectively leave to day. Col. Buford is in command until noon to day. Gen. Paine will then assume command of the Three Posts with Head Quarters here. To inclement for Dress Parade.

Feb. 4th Tuesday, weather moderate. snow which had fallen to the depth of 2 Inches is fast disappearing mud mud *everlasting* oh how awful mudy it is. Very dull to day. No news of any consequence. We are all hopeful however that the expedition which left here will be successful. Roll Call now at the usual hour of Dress Parade.

Feb. 5th Wednesday. No news of the expidition yet.Too mudy to do any thing yet but stand Guard. It rains about half the time. Both Rivers are still raising, & threaten to inundate & overflow our camp The camp at Ft. Holt is nearly all under water now. The members of our Regt express great chagrine because they were not permitted to accompany the expedition and share with it in its *perils & honors* Capt. Parke Officer of the Day.

Feb 6th Thursday weather quite pleasant, clouds cleared away to day The sun shines bright & warm & it looks like spring. Favorable news from the expedition this morning had no Battle up to yesterday—but guess they are hard at it to day at Ft. Henry———
1862. Camp Cairo Illinois.
Feb 7th Friday weather cold. Glorious News, Two of our Gun Boats returned this morning bearing the Rebel Flags captured at Fort Henry. The respective loss is not yet ascertained. One of our Boats in the parts not ironed got pretty badly splintered up. One of the Rebel Gens. was also captured.

Feb. 8th Saturday Weather cool & cloudy much rejoicing over the victory gained at Ft. Henry Our success in that section we think decides the fate of Columbus Rumors are current that fighting is going on in the region of Ft. Henry and Donelson. Nothing definite.

Feb. 9th Sunday clear but cold. Guard mounting at the usual hour Lt Allen Officer of the Guard. Inspection of Battalion by the Staff at the usual hour 10 O'clock 48th Ind. arrived here last night 2 Regts also came down from St. Louis this evening It is reported that Fort Donelson is taken by our troops.

Feb. 10th Monday weather cold cloudy and disagreeable. No truth in the reported capture of Ft Donelson

Feb 11th Tuesday weather still cold no news from Fort Donelson to day of any consequence Troops still going by way of this place for that point.

Feb 12th Wednesday News of the capture of Roanoke Island rec'd with rejoicing weather moderating, Clear & pleasant.
Camp Cairo, Illinois.
Feb. 13th Thursday morning Lt. Williams Officer of the Guard to day weather clear and pleasant in the morning but changed towards night commenced storming sleeting and snowing with the wind in the north.

Feb. 14th Friday, morning weather extremely cold clear with snow about ½ inch deep. Report of Burnsides capture of Roanoke confirmed this morning. The seige of Ft. Donelson is said to have commenced both by land and water.

Feb 15th Saturday weather still cold No duty can be performed except to stand guard & perform fatigue duty an uncommon amount of which has fallen to our share of late.

Feb. 16th Sunday, Our Regt. on Guard to day Lt. Williams detailed with 40 men on fatigue duty to Mound City to day, more news from Fort Donelson to day rather unfavorable although the reports are conflicting.

1862 Camp Cairo Illinois.

Feb. 17th Monday morning Glorious news this morning, Ft. Donelson is taken, Fifteen Thousand prisoners and an immense quantity of arms and ammunition. A salute of 34 Guns fired by order of Col. Buford in commemoration of the event.

Feb. 18th Prisoner taken at Donelson are continually arriving Lt. Williams detailed with a squad of 50 men on fatigue duty in town A salute of 10 Guns was fired at 10 O'clock in honor of Gov. Yates and Suit who arrived to day also Gov. Morton. Weather fair.

March 4th Tuesday morning. Left Cairo on the Steamer Illinois. The Gun Boats 5 in number and 4 mortars taking the lead for Columbus, at which place we arrived at about 11 O'clock. The Ills. 2nd cavalry had occupied the place & the Stars and Stripes were floating from the fortifications. After disembarking, the 27th headed by our noble Col. marched to the stirring notes of Yankee Doodle & Dixie, up the levee & the hill to the fortifications on the Bluffs. This place where nature & art had made the Gibraltar of America would have cost the Government an immense number of lives & treasure before succumbing to the american arms, after viewing the stupendous works and the different modes of destruction which the Rebels had invented to destroy the Northern Barbarian and Yankees as they term them, Such as torpedoes & infernal machines which they had burried in the earth promiscously as far back in the country and as far up & down the river as the fortifications extend Each one connecting by wire with a magnetic Battery by which they were to be exploded.[1] After seeing all there was to be seen we marched back down to town where we went into quarters Col. Buford taking his qrs. in town at the Columbus Bank a nice Brick Building. Our Col. commanding is Lieut Col. Harrington he has taken his qrs. near the Regt. in a large 2 story house formerly the Head Qrs of the Rebel Gen. Pope. There is quite a change with weather this afternoon turned colder Col. Buford has assumed command of the Post. A portion of our Regt have taken up their qrs. in the rebels barracks—built of logs and a portion are encamped in tents.

March the 5th Wednesday morning cloudy & cold nothing of importance to day. Lt. Lytle of Co. B has been selected by Col. Harrington as acting adjt. a adjt Rust is acting Brigade adjt for Col. Buford com'dg the Post. The 42d Regt. Ills. Vol. are encamped upon the bluffs. No Dress Parade this evening.

March 6th Thursday morning still cloudy & cool Capt. Parke Officer of the day. Lt. Williams Comp. C. has been detailed by the Col. to act as Qr. M. until Qr. M. Sears arrives from Cairo. A regular mail & passenger packet runs the line between this & Cairo

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[1] See the report of Flag officer, A. H. Foote, Mar. 4, 1862. War Records, Series I., vol. VII., p. 436. In part he reports as follows: "Columbus is in our possession. My armed reconnaissance on the 2nd caused a hasty evacuation, the rebels leaving quite a number of guns and carriages, amunition and a large quanity of shot and shell, a considerable number of anchors, and the remnant of chain lately stretched across the river, with a large number of torpedoes. Most of the huts, tents, and quarters destroyed. The works are of very great strength, consisting of formidable teers of batteries on the water side and on the land side, surrounded by a ditch and abatis."

March 7th Friday morning weather more pleasant. Our Sutler arrived this morning from Cairo. Dress Parade this evening.

March 5th Saturday morning clear & pleasant The absentees are those left behind at Cairo arrived this evening Dress Parade at the customary hour.

1862. Head Quarters, Camp Columbus Ky.

March the 9th Sunday morning. Weather pleasant with some indications of rain. Co. inspection on the Co. Parade ground at 9.30 A. M. Boats are running quite freely between this point & Cairo. Dress Parade this evening.

March 10th Monday morning. had quite a rain storm last night—but has the appearance of clearing off this morning Qr. Master Sears arrived last evening. Every thing quite in town, Lt. Williams relieved from Duties as Qr. M.

March 11th Tuesday morning clear and pleasant. Lt. Williams officer of the Guard to day. To news of the evacuation of Manasses reached us to day much rejoicing over it & the forward advance of the armies of the Potomac.

March 12th Wednesday weather still pleasant. Lt. Allen & a squad of men from our Co. after great exertions have succeeded in drawing from the river a Sixty Four Pdr. which the rebels had dismounted & rolled into the river, which he has mounted and now every morning and evening at the rising and setting of the sun he and his squad cause it to thunder forth the announcement of arrival or departure of that glorious Orb of Day.

March 13th Thursday weather very pleasant Very dull more so than at Cairo as there is no business going on and very few citizens are living here Dress Parade as usual.

March 14th Friday, it rained very hard last night, & is still raining this morning. We are under marching orders, Tis said we are to accompany the fleet down the river True enough about 11 O'clock A. M. the flotilla of Gun Boats hove in sight followed by the transports & mortars.

We embarked on board the Steamer Silver Wave. By and by they began to shove out the Gun Boats taking the lead.

1862 Head Quarters Silver Wave Nothing of interest transpired until we arrived at Hickman,—where we all landed, a Battalion of the 27th only disembarking headed by our Col. and Lt. Col. displaying our glorious old Banner & keeping step to the soul stirring notes Yankee Doodle & Dixies land. Col. Buford first proceeded to the telegraph office where he destroyed their means of communication & also tearing up their Rail Road track for a short distance. The locomotive having skeddadled as soon as our Boats hove in sight. We lay here until Saturday morning

March 15th Saturday morning cold drissling rain. The fleet gently get under way this morning at day break, we proceeded on our way to Island No. 10. Our Col. this morning imparted to us the glad tidings of the evacuation of New Madrid & the possession of it by Gen. Pope with a number of peices of heavy cannon About 9 A. M. we came very unexpectedly upon a Rebel Gun Boat the Grampies which was wooding about a 9 miles above the Island. She very hastily left her moorings, not giving some of her hands time to get aboard. The Benton which was in advance sent a few shots after her—but without reaching her. She set up a scream with her whistle—which she did not abate until she reached the Island. Arriving in the neighborhood of the Island—the Gun Boats dropped very cautiously down to within 3½ miles of their upper Battery on the main shore & near the same distance from the Island. Two of the mortars were towed into position. The Gun Boats then opened upon the Island—firing several rounds during the afternoon The two mortars also fired several rounds each—but no response was elicited from either Battery Nothing of importance has transpired to day.

1862 Head Quarters Silver Wave.

March 16th Sunday morning Still cloudy. A 10 A. M. Capt Mores Co. to which was added Lt. Williams by order Lt. Col. Harrington to go over on the Mo. shore for the purpose of reconnoitering & supporting if necessary a fatigue party under the command of capt southward which was detailed to build a bridge over a slough for crossing artillery, we were landed about 11 A.-M. the fatigue set to work bridging the slough while we went down the river about one mile took possession of a deserted farmers house had a first rate dinner & marched back to our Boat about 5 O'clock P. M. The mortars 4 in number kept up a constant fire from 10 A. M. till night. Col. Buford landed one Battery of artillery,—about 5 P. M. & the 27th Regt. to support it. 4 rounds from one Gun were fired at a battery on the Island before the enemy deigned to reply—when they did the first shot passed within about Fve feet of Lt. Allen & Williams who were standing on the fence at the time. They did not stand for another shot—but got down out of view from the enemy. The Third or Fourth shot from the enemy took off a leg from one of our artillerist.—finding our Guns ineffective we ordered back to the Boats and steamed back to our landing place.

March 17th Monday morning clear & pleasant. Nothing doing until 1 P. M. when Three Gun Boats the Benton in the center lashed together dropped down to within long range of the upper Battery—Two others on the opposite side of the river. A tremendous heavy fire was now opened from the 5 Gun Boats and 8 mortars Which was responded to with considerable spirit—but without any effect. A cannon on board the St. Louis exploded during the heat of the action killing 2 and wounding 6, was all the men we lost during the action. The effect of our firing on their Battery can not now be ascertained, but we know of several Guns being dismounted.[1]

1862 Head Quarters Steamer Silver Wave

March the 18th Tuesday morning, heard heavy firing at New Madrid. Our Boat moved up the river. The Gun Boats and mortars opened fire in the evening. At 9½ A. M. Our Boat went up the river to Mr. Phillips and killed 4 beeves, After that we dropped down the river to our camping place. Our mortars and & Gun Boats keep up a fire on the enemy all night at intervals of ½ hour.

March 19th Wednesday. William H. Ashley died this day at Cairo. The firing still continues. Lt. Allen left the Boat, on board the Steamer Rob Roy in a skiff with 3 citizens for the upper Ft. They approached within 200 y'ds of it could see One Gun Two empty carriages, and about 15 or 20 men apparently. Not doing any thing to them returned to the flag Boat Benton & reported to the Commodore.

March 20th Thursday Lt. Allen aboard the Rob Roy in company with Col. Buford on a reconnoissance but nothing of note occurred this A. M. But at dark Allen with Three men H. C. Foote Alma Jaques and Orastus Bently approached within 10 yards of the enemys Guns, in the upper Ft. and discovered the enemy mounting Guns.

Allen remained there about an hour and then returned to Com. Foote. As soon as he had reported the Com. opened fire on them. They then took Tug Boat & returned to the Steamer Silver Wave.

March 21st Friday cloudy & smoky

The 27th Regt. of Ills. Vol. was transferred from the Steamer Silver Wave to the Steamer T. L. McGill One Steamer with One Regt. left here for Hickman Ky. to protect the citizens. Our Gun Boats continue to fire on the enemy.

March 22nd Saturday morning little cannonading to day. Col. Bissels Engineering Regt. commenced cutting a canal evading Island No. 10 through to N Madrid

[1] For these movements see War Records, Series I., vol. VIII., pp. 115-117.

1862 Head Qrs, 27th Steamer T. L. McGill.
March 23rd Lt. Allen Officer of the Guard weather clear The Steamer W. B. Terry commenced dropping through the Canal (which takes it source at Philips Plantation and empties into the Miss River again at New Madrid).
March 24th Monday weather clear Col. Buford left the McGill went down the River in a tug to make a Balloon reconnoissance. A tree fell across one of the Gun Boats to Day and killed 1 man and wounding 7
March 25th Tuesday, weather clear.
Lt. Allen is detailed with 30 men as an escort to the Steamers W. B. Terry, Trio Emma, and Hettie Gilmore under the command of Col. Bissel.
March 26th Wednesday morning clear Col Bissels command cut stumps all day.
March 27th Thursday weather clear Col Bissels command penetrate slowly to day into the forest.
March 28 Friday. clear. Heard heavy firing all last night. Made slow progress to day.
March 29th Saturday Weather cloudy. Heavy firing in the afternoon.
We made about One mile to day. Received mail to Day.
March 30th Weather clear, & fine The Engineer Regt. keep working. Two flat Boats came down with 4 large Guns The 27th went to Hickman.[1]
March 31st Monday Havy weather The Eng. Regt. began mounting the Guns on the flat Boats
1862 Head Qrs. Steamer McGill
April the 1st Tuesday Weather clear The Gun Boats & mortars keep a constant fire. At 11 P. M. we had a heavy thunder Shower but short.
April 2nd Wednesday. Weather cloudy Maj Miles visited the expedition of Bissel. Little firing to day
April 3rd Thursday weather clear This is the 10th day of Bissels expedition towards Madrid Worked all night last night and arrived at St John's Bayou Water falling
April 4th Friday cloudy & raining. Rec'd the news that Buford was promoted to a Brig. Generalship
April 5th Saturday Clear The Gun Boat Carondolette run the Blockade last night.
April 6th Sunday. Weather fine & clear but cold at nights arrived at New Madrid The Gun Boat Pittsburgh run the Blockade at Island No. 10 last night or this morning. Lt. Williams on board the T L McGill had permission to go ashore to day to stay at a farm house until he regains his health being quite unwell.
April the 7th Monday Cloudy & raining. Gen Pope crossed the River to day with 4 Boat loads of troops. 2 Gun Boats silenced a Battery opposite Madrid. Lt. Allen took possession of a commodious house for his 30 men
a rebel floating Battery came floating down this evening mounting 14 Guns we caught her and brought her ashore.
1862. Head Quarters T L McGill.
April 8th Tuesday Weather cloudy. The Steamer Emma went up to Island No. 10 last night. The rebels sunk 4 transports before evacuating. Rained all last night
April 9th Wednesday Weather cloudy Lt. Allen took his command on board the steamer Emma at 9 O'clock and started for Island No. 10. At 12 M. the Hettie Gilmore and 2 other transports brought prisoners from the opposite shore—about 3 thousand and and went back after more. Joined the Regt. to Day.

[1] Report of Colonel Buford, Mar. 31, 1862. War Records, Series I., vol. VIII., p. 116.

April 11th Friday Weather cloudy Rec'd our mail. Our Regt. left Island No. 10 at 2 O'clock P. M. in Comp. with the Silver Wave & towed a wharf Boat to New Madrid.

April 12th Saturday cloudy & raining Rained all last night. Still on board the McGill waiting for orders from Gen Pope. At 1 O'clock we went down the River and went ashore at Riddles Point.

April 13th Sunday clear
Left Riddles Point at 7 O'clock. At 2 P. M. we were opposite Osceola 30 or 40 Boats 8 miles above Ft. Wright

April 14th Monday. Weather clear nothing of note happened up to 12. The first shell from our Boats at Ft Wright at 2-20 P. M. At 1 P. M. Gen. Bufords took fire and burned to the hull. The Gun Boats & Mortars kept up considerable firing to day.
1862. Head Quarters T. L. McGill.
April 15th Weather clear, nothing of importance to day
April 16th Wednesday Weather clear and warm
The Barkeeper on board this Boat was sent ashore to day for disobedience. No Guns fired to day. Rec'd mail to day Capt. Lemuel Parke resigned to day.

April the 17th, Raining & smoky.
The Fleet of transports started for the Tennessee River to day We landed at upton's farm and wooded Lt. Allen took command of the Co. at dark. We lay at the Wharf Boat 20 miles below New Madrid taking on provisions 4 hours.

April 18th Friday raining. Landed at New Madrid at 2 P. M. Stopped at Island No. 10 and Philips Plantation for Lt. Williams.

April 19th A Bently and H. F. James get furloughed home. Arrived at Cairo 2 P. M. Stay there 8 hours. Capt. Parke went home.

April 20th Sunday Weather cloudy and rainy. Arrived at Paducah at Day light, at 4 opposite Harri's landing Tennessee River.

April 21st Monday Weather cloudy Arrived at Savannah Tenn. at 9 P. M. Col. Harrington was elected Col. of the 27th A. J. Lides appointed 2nd Lt of comp. C. vice L. F. Williams promoted to 1st Lieutenancy, arrived at Pittsburgh landing 10 P. M.
1862 Head Qrs 27th Regt. Hamburgh Tenn.
April 22nd Tuesday, at 6 A. M. Steam up the River landed 8 miles above Pittsburg Landing. At 6 P. M. marched up to the town of Hamburg.

April 23rd Wednesday clear & fine Sets our tents in Hamburgh. One of the finest camps in Tenn. Richard Emery joined the Regt. again

April 24th Thursday, Beautiful weather Rec'd marching Orders. Lt. Williams returned to his Company.

April 25th Friday raining. Marching Orders with 2 Days rations. Marching Orders Countermanded. Our Co. Detailed as Grand Guard and it rained all day No rain on the night.

April 26th Saturday weather clear & fine Returned to Comp. Our Regt. marched forward 2 miles & camped on good ground.

April the 27th Sunday. Clear marching orders Left Thirteen men & all our tents behind. Advanced 2 miles and a half camped in the timber and slept on our arms. Skirmish between pickets to day.

April 28th Monday Cloudy but cleared off fine about noon. Long Roll beat—fall into line of Battle Our Pickets had a skirmish with the Rebels—killing one Major and 4 men wounded several and took Twenty Four prisoners. Day ended clear but rained nearly all night.

April 29th Tuesday cloudy and raining on the morning. Rec'd orders for marching to-morrow at 7 A. M. with 1 Days rations.
1862 Head Qrs. 27th In the Field near Corinth Miss.
April 30th Rec'd marching orders to day for to-morrow morning instead of the 29th a mistake in the printer.

May the 1st Thursday clear and pleasant. Preparations for marching. As the companies have but one team allotted to each one of them we are compelled to leave our tents behind At 7 A. M. The 10th and 16th take up their line of march towards Corinth. Capt. Allen Officer of the Day to day. We march about 8 O'clock. The 22nd is in advance.
Our Brigade commanded by Gen. Parmer [Palmer]—is composed of the 22nd Ills. on the right the 27th next then the Battery the 51st and the 42nd Ills. 4 Regts and one Battery. The sappers and miners Col Bissel have been in our advance for several days preparing the roads—our route is in a southerly direction through a broken country—occasionally a farm. We halted about 4 P. M. after marching about 6 miles Gen. Morgans Brigade—with Hottellings (Houghtaling) Battery are formed in the line of Battle in our front Our Brigade is next in the same order. Roll call this evening at the usual hour.

May the 2nd Friday morning clear and pleasant. An order has been issued prohibiting the firing of guns or even the snapping of caps—within the lines or without the lines of any Regt. Except it be our pickets or sentinels in the performance of duty. At 10.30 A. M. we recd orders to fall back about one mile across a creek Gen. Paine having advanced his division too far—in his eagerness to encounter the enemy. After a short march we reach our camping place a position on the opposite side ¾ of a mile to the right and 1½ mile to the rear. Forces in our rear are rapidly advancing
1862. Head Quarters In the Field near Corinth Miss.

May the 3rd Saturday morning very pleasant but some indications of rain. About 9 O'clock firing is heard on our right constant and seemingly heavy volleys of musketry accompanied by discharges of artillery. Gens. Paine Palmer and staff pass our Regt. in the meantime. Gen. Palmer told the Guard that in less that 24 hours they will have a chance to distinguish themselves. At 10 A. M. we receive orders to be ready to march in 40 minutes with one days rations the team and 5 men are left behind knapsacks and the remainder of the provision The men are in good fighting order. At 11 A. M. we move forward each Brigade holding their relative position. We advance in the direction of Corinth about 6 miles then halted. The 22nd moves off to the right in an open field throwing out a comp. as skirmishers on the extreme right—also Co. A of the 27th on our left for the same purpose firing is heard in our front at considerable distance In about an hour our skirmishers return not having encountered the enemy. The line of march is again resumed—from what we can gather the Enemy is about 3 miles in our front with quite a large force awaiting an attack. Two miles farther we pass a small body of Cavlry 9 of the Enemy were killed in that little Skirmish One of our Men wounded in the foot a little farther on & we Came to where Several large trees had bin falled a Cross the road near by is quite a large the bridge op which has also bin distroyed the Sapers & Miners however have bin at worke SinCe the Enjine have bin Compeled to fall baCk & a bridge is alredy ConstruCted Sufisent to pass all of our forCes over Sharp firing is now heard in front we advanCe on open field is Soon reached where the 10th & 16th have bin encampt to the right Cap the 27 & 22 move to the left Hotlings Batry Moves forward also to the right. supported by Gen Morgans Brigade. We move onward stopping for no obstacles whatever, the musket balls whistling uncomfortably clos—occasionally. Hotellings Battery now opens causing the enemy to skedaddle in a hurry taking position again behind their Battery which had not yet opened upon us. The Battery belonging to our Brigade now advanced on the extreme left with 2, 10 pdr Turrat Guns & 2 brass 12 pdr not being very well manned. the firing now from both sides was tolerably warm The shot and shell from the rebel

battery falling in every direction but our men all proved themselves heroes—not withstanding the heavy fire to which they were exposed not a man flinched but stood firmly at his post.
The heavy cross fire from our battery & the constant and well directed aim or fire rather from Hotillings battery proved too much for the southern chivilry and after about one hours fight fled. The Battery taking one load the Infantry another. The enemy proved to be about 4,500 including one Regt. of cavalry and one Battery. Our forces engaged were the 22nd & 27th Ills. one Battalion of sharpshooters—2 Batteries of artillery the 10th & 16th Ills. & a squadron of Cavalry—A total of about 3500 men. The loss of the enemy was considerable carrying off quite a number—besides leaving 12 or 15 of their dead on the field & about 25 prisoners. Our loss during the day was one man killed & 20 wounded. We occupied the ground about one hour during the time our cavalry was scouring the country. About 6 O'clock orders came from Gen. Pope to fall back about 3 miles and take up our position—which we did in an open field about 9 P. M. the men tired and nearly worn out rested on the ground without tents or blankets. Gens Pope & Palmer were in the thickest of the fight displaying great coolness and courage.
May 4th Sunday morning cloudy with some indications of rain. Some firing heard on our left, about 9 O'clock we take a new position ½ mile in the rear of the present one.
1862 Head Qr.s. 27th Regt. In the field near Corinth Miss. May 4th Sen. Luns Brigade consisting of the 10th & 14th Michigan & Yates sharpshooters now occupy the advance. Gen. Morgan's Brigade on the right & a little to the rear. Gen Palmer's in the rear of the two Brigades. It commenced raining about 11 A. M. and has kept it up all day without intermission. Our team arrived to night with the knapsacks and remainder of provisions & the officers tents. We are nearly starved the men have no hard bread make out to borrow enough for supper. The Qr. Master has not brought any bread with him thinking the men had enough till to-morrow. "Curses" not very loud but deep are "vented" upon the Qr. Master by the men, many of whom after starving all day have nothing for supper.

May 5th. Monday morning raining hard has rained very hard most of last night No reveille or roll call this morning. The men have no bread for breakfast. Efforts are made to borrow from other Regts. in the Division but they are nearly in the same condition, consequently we have no bread for breakfast, the men are very much dissatisfied & the curses are *louder* than last evening against the Old Qr Master. The rain ceases about 9 A. M. and at 1 P. M. it is clear and pleasant. The Qr. Master did not start back after provision till late this morning—not having gone last night as he should have done, the roads are in a dreadful condition. There is a camp report this evening that Gen Buell has taken possession of the Rail road on the right running to Memphis & that he also bagged a Brigade of rebels that were on the train. It is also reported that our forces on the left have taken possession of the road running east, there is also another report that Com. Porter & his fleet are coming up the Mississippi.
1862 Head Qr.s. 27th Regt. of Ills. Vol. in the Field near Corint Miss. ——————Cannonading is heard on the right of our position this evening are not certain whether it is on the right or at the River. The Qr. Master has not returned yet and curses are louder than ever. And the cry of "crackers" crackers" resounds from one end of the camp to the other. Lt. Sides Officer of the Guard .

May 6th Tuesday morning, quite cool, but clear as a morning bell. No Qr Master yet, and the cry of *crackers* is again heard through camp, this time it brings the Col. around and he threatens to place every Capt. under arrest if it is not stopped.

Sergt. Martin manages to borrow one cracker for each man for breakfast—from the 22nd Ills. At 8 P. M. our team returned with provision. Our teamster—Robt. Mayo had the misfortune to loose one span

of his mules in crossing the bridge missing their footing they fell into the stream and were drowned. The cannonading on our right is said to have been a fight between some of our forces & the rebels—resulting in the capture of a battery & 900 of the Enemy. The Tennessee River is 2 feet higher than ever known before. An Order from Gen. Pope was read at roll call complimenting the troops for their courage in the little engagement at Farmington on Saturday last the 3rd inst. About 2000 men are at work endeavoring to make the road passable btween here and the River. A light mail to day—

May 7th Wednesday. Camp. E. was out on picket yesterday and relieved to day. The Qr. Master arrives this afternoon with plenty of provision. The 16th are nearly suffering to day for something to eat, as their teams have not arrived yet from the River. After Tattoo this evening we rec'd orders to be ready to march in the morning by 7 A. M. with one day's rations in haversacks. The whole Army will probably move on Corinth to morrow.

1862 Head Qr.s. 27th Regt. Ills. Vol. In the Field near Corinth Miss. May the 8th Thursday morning cool. Assembly beat at 7.20 A. M. The Brigade in our front in command of Gen Morgan took the lead,—our Brigade following the other Brigades following after Gen. Stanley's Division is on our left—& 2 Regts of Cavalry. Our route is over the same ground passed over by us last Saturday to Farmington. On reaching the open ground or fields where our skirmishing began on Saturday, we found Gen. Morgan's Brigade formed in close column by division. Our Brigade formed in the same manner. A messenger comes in from our advance for Gen. Baine & staff to proceed forward as a flag of truce from the enemy is in waiting A consultation is held & a purport of the visit forwarded by telegraph to Gen. Pope—an answer is soon rec'd by those holding the consultation the usual formalities having been gone through with—the deputation return to their entrenchments. The Sharp shooters composing the Yates Phalanx are ordered forward as skirmishers. The Divisions about Fifteen Thousand strong move forward into the open Field on the high ground. Here an open scope of country about ¾ of a mile wide stretches away towards Corinth for Two miles this is a solid block of farms. Firing now commences in front—tis our sharpshooters driving back the enemy—the enemy's pickets. A line of Battle is rapidly formed—the line extending diagonally across the field with our left resting on Farmington & right extending into the timber skirting the North Side of the open country before us. Our scouting parties and skirmishers retun the way is clear in the direction of Corinth for some distance. We again move forward—the artillery in front—we halt very frequently as the skirmishers progress is very slow and firing is occasionally heard on our left. After we have marched one mile our Regt. is ordered to deploy from the open ground to the right into the timber. as we advance frequent firing is heard on our left, but we are not so fortunate as to meet any of *the Butternut Gentry.* The artillery stop occasionally unlimber and shell the woods in the front. We are marching now by the head of column & again by the right flank and sometimes in line of Battle. And notwithstanding the thick undergrowth hills & hallows ditches Sloughs and creeks—our Regt marched in good order & regularity. Tis now 5 P. M. We have reached a spot distant about 2 miles from Corinth. Have halted and drawn up in line of Battle. Heavy cannonading has been in progress on our left for some time. Our sharpshooters are cracking away at them in lively style—and the enemy are replying as earnestly. We rest here near an hour word is brought in that the enemy have rec'd heavy reinforcements & are advancing—and firing of our sharpshooters became more & more distinct as they slowly fall back orders are now rec'd to retrace our steps which we do in good order reaching the open ground about sun set. The line of march is resumed again in the direction of our old camp, which is reached in safety about 8 P. M. The casualities of to day's reconnoissance is one Major

of the 7th Ills. cavalry killed & Three privates and several of the Infantry wounded. all of which was done at or near the Battery on our extreme left. 'tis said the enemy's outerfortifications are where our forces came so unexpectedly this Battery—& which would have resulted in great destruction to our forces had the enemy been aware of our approach. Our Rgt. was so unlucky as not to have the opportunity of firing a single during the day.

May 9th Friday Morning. The men are quite hard rouse from their slumber this morning, having marched very late last evening. At 9 A. M. our Brigade is ordered forward & encamp on the ground near Farmington. At 10 A. M. the assembly beats—we fall in on the color line. We march forward—about half the distance is accomplished when we hear cannonading in the front. A messenger comes dashing on from there asking for reinforcements—stating that the enemy had advanced during the night and was about to overpower the force left there as pickets. We hasten up thinking it is nothing but a reconnoitering party. After arriving at the open fields just across the creek and swamp & ¾ of a mile this side of Farmington our Artillery which is but 4 pieces advance and take position and are firing at a Battery which the enemy have planted west of us—behind a skirt of underbrush, by this time it is ascertained that another rebel Battery is stationed to the left of the former across a deep hollow which is also obscured from our view by a strip of timber intervening the Two fields. The artillery firing now become very rapid—the enemy replying with great spirit—the shells are falling rather close to our position to be comfortably pleasant and we are ordered into a hollow nearly for protection until the infantry is called into action in order to facilitate our movements we are ordered to unsling knapsack remaining here ½ hour—meanwhile the shot & shell are passing over around & on all sides of us—doing no damage whatever. During the firing Gen. Pope arrives on the field—discovers the enemy to be in full forces—telegraps to Gen. Halleck of the fact—& his own force. Gen. Halleck telegraps him not to reinforce as it would bring on a General engagement & he is not ready, but to bring his force off the field. The enemy have to be held in check till the siege pieces which have started across the bottom can be turned back again. A strong force of the enemy is now moving to our left with the intention of flanking us,—we are ordered forward & occupy a ridge in front of our present position to prevent their intended movements. We move forward through a shower of grape & shot & canister from a Battery on our right. Our line of Battle is perfect and lying low to escape the fire on our right—coolly await the approaching foe. But have not long to wait, their Banners & then their head & finally they can all be seen advancing to the brow of the hill opposite—distant about 250 yards. Our men are eager now & impatient for the order *fire*. A new feature is now added to the scene before us. Galloping rapidly to the front and unlimbering a Battery of 6 pieces of artillery turn their mouths full upon us, *this* all done before our eyes without a single order to fire—by which we might have prevented such a movement—was too much for human nature to bear. And a sensation is plainly visible along our whole line Here exposed to a cross fire from the Battery on our right—the enemy seven Regts. Strong plainly visible in front—with the mouths of those six "bull dogs" gaping in our faces—ready to pour destruction into our ranks.—while our own Regt. reduced to 6 comp. and the 22nd. on our right—was all the force we had to oppose them & without any support whatever—is it surprising that men would falter under such circumstances. A few men in Co. B. and private Knip in our comp. impelled by the idea that they can see just as well a little farther back—attempt to fly—but are prevented by the Officers and File Closers. But Joel Knip is so determined in his resolution that he does not alter it—Capt. Allen jumps before him with drawn sword threatens to run him through unless he returns to his post. This commotion discovers our position to the enemy—and the consequence is the Shot Shell & grape are rattling around us like hail. The order soon comes for us to fall back—we march back in good

order to the edge of the field—where we face the enemy again. Orders came again to fall back—but the Col. mistaking the orders commanded forward and we marched up again to our first position the grape shot meantime falling around us thick and fast. It was during this last forward movement that private F. M. Conner was killed Struck in the back of the head by a piece of shell. Private R. H. Waters was wounded also—for a few minutes we withstood the raking fire of the Two Batteries. The Col. gives no orders to fire. The command again is given to fall back we do so with some confusion—on we go on the "*double-quick*" across the field—pass our knapsacks hardly deigning to look at them—Over the 2nd hill where we form again The Cavalry now make a charge upon the Battery which is don in splendid style—throwing their Infantry into uter confusion. We now continue our retreat across the bottom and back to camp our line of Battle is kept up till dark—we are relieved by other Regts. We find the loss of our Co. to be one killed, F. M. Conner, One wounded T. H. Waters, One missing, Richard Felan. The loss of our Regt. in todays engagement, is 4 killed, 15 wounded and 2 missing.[1]

May 10th Saturday morning Reveille beat at 8 O'clock A. M. We handed in a report of our Co. loss today which will be replaced by government. Gen. Pope has ordered the comdg officers of each Regt. to have their men fall in on the color line at the firing of one cannon at his head Qrs. the 2nd is a signal to prepare for fighting the 3rd is to disperse to qrs.

May 11th. Sunday, News of the evacuation of York Town is rec'd today with great rejoicing Roll Call at the usual hour.

May 12th Monday. Our Co. is on picket Guard today The line of pickets is very heavy. Rec'd intelligence of the surrender of Norfolk and the burning of the Merrimack.

May 13th[2] Tuesday Our Company Came off picket nothing of importance Takes place To day

May 14 Wensday nothing of importance going on here to day

May 15 Thirsday we wore got in to line of battle with two days provision in our haversack and sixty rounds of aminition we laid in line Till Noon we then got orders to go to camp noting hapning of importance

May 16 friday all is quiet here to day nothing of importance going on here.

May 17 Saturday we are on the road advancing with two days provision in our haversack we were on picket to day we advanced our picket line the whole arem advanced to day we wore releaved at night by general Nelsons men

May Sunday 18 we worked hard all night building brest work and all day today we have planted five seage peares to day we are ready for them now if they want to come

May 19 Monday they are still throwing up brest woorks Thare is heavy canonading in front on the picked line but did not amount to much

May 20 tuesday we got paid of To day we got fifty two dolars All is quiet here to day

May 21 wensday there was heavy firing on the picket line we got orders to advance we went about half a mile halted laid down a bout haf an our then marched back to camp thare was heavy cananading on our right at Tenn o'clock it lasted a boute a quarter of an our

May 22 Thirsday there was skirmishing with the picket this morning all is quiet here nothing of importance hapaned May 23 Friday it has rained hard here all day the roads are bad to travel on for mud is very deep

May 24 saturday. it is Still raining here the mud is very deep all is quiet here.

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[1] For the return of casualties on May 3 and 9 see War Records, Series I., vol. X., p. 718 and for May 9 alone p. 805.

[2] The handwriting changes here. Note the spelling.

May 25 Sunday we are on picket to day there has ben some picket firing but it did not amount to much
May 26 Monday off picket there was a skirmish on the picket line the Agetent of the 14 Michigan was cild nothing more of importance hapned to day
May 27 tuesday nothing of importance hapned to day on our line
May 28 wensday we advanced about a mile to the front there was a big artilery fight we were on the reserve and did not git in to it the troops in our front are throwing up brest works litle before sundown we ware put at it we got ours done at eleven at night the rebels atempted to take one of our baterys but were repulsed with heavy loss the rebles tried to shell us but done no harm
May 29 Thirsday we have got some of the seage guns planted we are at work at them we can hear the roar of the big gun and the whistle of the shell as they through the air our gun sheled them all day
May 30 friday irley this morning there was a dense smoke seen to rise in the direction of corinth the enimy are blowing up their magasene the enimy have evacuated and our cavelry are in persuit of them we got orders to git ready to march with three days provision in our haversacks we started at five oclock in persuit of them we marched eight miles the enimy are in front of us in a position that is hard to git at they are on Tuscumbia river
May 31 saturday we are on guard to day there is two companys of our reg one from the 51; one from the 42 one from the 22 we are guarding a bridge two of the enimy came in and give up we staid here all night
June the first 1862 June 1 we returned to camp this morning the enimy having retreated our regement are in persuit we over took them at danvill we rested a while we crosed the Tuscumbia river we wore caled into ranks we wore ordered foward for skirmishers this is the first time we were ever skirmishing we went about eight miles we incamped near the town of rienzia we wore posted out till the troops came up we then returned to camp
June 2 monday we wore on the road a litle after daylight we incamped at Boonvill we made 6 miles to day we have not see any of the enimy to day
June 3 Tuesday we wore on a recinoicance about eleven miles drove the enimeys pickets in we got a few cild and wounded we returned to camp this was the hardest march that we ever have done late of the men give out on the road
June 4 wensday the boys are sore this morning and grumbling about their hard march we are at the old camp about sundown thare came the well nown call for us to fall in there was rebel caveyery reported beyond our picket line we started in persuit with a section of artilery we went about four miles but found nothing and returned to camp wild goose chase
June 5 Thirsday we laid in camp all day to day the men are sore and tired and near worn out
June 6 friday we were roused at noon by the long road we took up our line of march to the rear for one mile then turned west one mile we then turned north a ways and then drew up in line of batle and stocked our arms and laid down for the night we are in a nice grove of timber
Saturday June 7 nothing of importance going on here we laid in Camp all day
June 8 Monday we got orders to be ready to march with four days provision we had inspection of arms nothing of importance going on here
June 9 monday nothing of worth has taken place to day thare has been troops pasing all the after noon they are going to the rear
June 10 Tuesday nothing of note took place to day we are in the old place yet
June 11 wensday we fell in and took up our line of march to the rear our company was in advance we pased rienzi to day

June 12 Thirsday we were on the road Irley this morning we pased Danvill and crossed the Tudcombia river drew up in line and stocked our arms for the night
June 13 Friday we are in camp here the most of the boys are buisy washing their close our tents have come up we have not had a tent since we left farmington we had to peleace our camp
June 14 Saturday we moved our camp about a mile and paked our tents this is nice camp the name of it Camp big Spring
June 15 Sunday we had inspection of arms water is not very handy but good when you git it
June 16 monday we had to pelease our perade ground we started to dig a well there came another shower and we had to quit for to night
June 17 Tuesday we had drill and dressperade the well is not done yet
June 18 Wensday Drill and Dress Parade as usul the well is not done yet
June 19 Thirsday Drill and Dress perade as useal the well is done we now have plenty of water and good water and it is handy this is a healthy place
June 20 friday Drill and dressperade as useal nothing of importance taken place here
June 21 Saturday the same old thing are again nothing worth relating taken place here
June 22 Sunday inspection this is the onily day that has seemed like Sunday to me for a long time
June 23 monday Drill and Dressprade as useal nothing worth relating having taken place
June 24 Tuesday the same old thing are again nothing new we had to peleace our parade ground
June 25 Wensday the same old thing over again
June 26 Thirsday our company was on picket nothing of importance going on all quiet on our line
June 27 friday of pick all quiet drill as useal
June 28 Saturday we had a nice shower drill and dressperade as useal the same old thing over again
June 29 Sunday we had inspection of arms this has ben a very quiet day for the army
June 30 monday we mustered for pay to day and had dress prade it is dull in camp and makes one feel lazy

July the 1 1862 Tuesday

it is raining this morning we had to peleace our camp ground we got orders to be ready to march this evening we went within two miles of rienzia we stacked our arms and laid down to sleep thare was onily our brigade with us the cavelry had a fight at boenvill we did not git thare our men drove them to black land
July 2 wensday we went back to camp it was very muddy and hard marching we were tired out
July 3 Thirsday Drill as useal and Dressprade nothing worth relating goin on here
July 4 Friday there was no drill but Dress perade there was a salute fired in honer of the day we had our post flag out it was nice to see the boys gether round it the day was dull
July 5 Saturday nothing worth riting going on her to day
July 6 Sunday we got orders to take three day provision in our haversacks and be ready to march at a minets warning we laid around all day wating orders but got none
July 7 monday nothing going on we are wating orders but got none we had Dress prade

July 8 Tuesday Drill and Dressperade as useal nothing of importance going on here

July 9 wensday the same old story here nothing worth riting
July 10 Thirsday all as useal here it is dull here in camp

July 11 Friday Drill and Dressprade we had inspection of arms and camp and cooking utencials
July 12 Saturday Drill this morning we have had no mail for five days it is reported that our mail has ben robed and berid
July 13 Sunday inspection of arms we had preaching by our chaplin
July 14 monday the right wing of our reg. is on picket all quiet on our line.
July 15 Tuesday off picket returned to camp Dress parade
July 16 wensday drill and dressprade as useal that is all that is going on here at presant
July 17 Thirsday it has rained all night and is showery to day there was a man cild in co I by axident we got orders to be ready to march with four days provision at any minit
July 18 friday we are ready to march at a minit warning one of our men died it was lewis vannoltmurg we did not move to day but wait orders
July 19 Saturday nothing of importance going on dressprde this evening
July 20 sunday we got orders to march in the morning we have struct our tents and are ready to move
July 21 monday we ware on the road by nine in the morning we marched all day the weather is hot and bad marching we incamped for the night in a peach orchard
July 22 Tuesday we were a stir irley this morning we pased the town of burnsvill we crosed yelow crick this is a very hot dey we pased the town of Iuka about haf a mile and halted for the hight
July 23 wensday we were left here to guard the railroad this is a prity town and a healthy place there is some of the nicest springs here out Co on picket
July 24th thursday we are in camp most of the boys went a blackbering
July 25th Friday nothing doen but dressperade in the eving———
July 26th Saturday there was a detale to go to Eastfort to draw provisions————
July 27th Sunday. nothing going on in camp We are on picket
July 28th monday. nothing but dressperade times dull and loansom————————
July 29th tuesday. all quiet times dull as useal————————
July 30th wednesday. it rained a heavy shower to day nothing going on as usual————————————
July 31st thursday. on picket all quiet[1]
Aug 1st fryday. of picket shot of our guns return to camp
August 2 saturday all quiet here in camp nothing going on worth riting
August 3th Sunday we moved our camp up town close to the railroad two guard it the weather is very warm
August 4 monday all is quiet here nothing going on worth riting
August 5th Tuesday there is not much going on here our company is on picket to night.
August 6th wensday off pickt Dressprade this evening
August 7th Thirsday there was a detail went to Eastport to load comasarys stores for the post
August 8th Friday nothing of importance going on here we had Dressprade as useal is all
August 9th saturday we wore paid off to day we got two months pay the left wing of our reg went on a scant they went to the farm of Mr man
August 10 sunday there was preaching to day by our Chaplin our bois got back they got 69 bales of coton and a lot of mules and wagones
August 11th monday nothing of importance to rite about we got orders to be ready to march in the morning

[1] War Records, Series I., vol. XVII., p. 147 show that the 27th Illinois was stationed at Cherokee Station, Alabama, with Lieutenant Colonel J. R. Miles in command at this time.

August 12th Tuesday we were on the road at three aclock our bois took a general spree last night and did not sleep much we crosed bair crick we had to waid it we laid up through the heat of the day at busards rost we pased dirisons station about two miles halted for the night

August 13th wensday we were on the road irley we pased a station I did not lurn the name we trotted through the heat of the day we halted on a little crick for the night

August 14th Thirsday we ware on the road irley we reached Tuscumbia about nine o clock we went into camp here this is one of the hotest days that I ever say we are in alabama the water here is good and one of the bigest springs out

August 15th Friday nothing of importance going on here at present

August 16th saturday all quiet here nothing to ceep life in one it is lonesome here

August 17th sunday inspection of arms nothing else done

August 18th monday we mustered to day for pay we got order to march at three oclock in the morning

August 19 Tuesday we ware on the road irley we polled for rest at the town of Laiton we halted for the night at town crick thore was a detail to git watermelons of the regth

August 20th wensday on the road irley we pased the town of courtland we rested here a while we halted for the night at the last place in the world I think thare was a detail for picket

August 21st Thursday we are again on the rod we have gone into camp on foxcrick near a big peach orchard our men made the peaches sufer

August 22d Friday we got orders to fall in for the guriles have run the train of the track and burnt it about three miles from hear company A and co. c. started in persuit of them under comand of the maigar schmitt we went to trinety on the railroad track we were then in haf a mile of them we took the mountain road to cut them of we went about a mile when we discovered them in the valley opisite us we advanced about haf way down the mountain we got orders to halt and fire the rebles run without returning it we fell back to the mountain road we marched by the right flank we did not go far before we met another squad of them we opned fire they run without returning it we had to fall fack for fear of beaing cut of we fell back to trinety we met reinforcements but the enimy had gone we were left at trinety to guard the railroad

August 23d saturday we went out on a scant but found nothing there was a detail of six left to watch a house but found nothing

August 24th sunday all is quiet here in camp it is reported that cild five and wounded several we did not git a man hurt

August 25th monday there was a detail went to our old camp for rations we have plenty of fresh pork for the bois cill four and five a day and plent of chickens

August 26th Tuesday all is quiet here now as one would wish the bois go forging when ever they please and we live in fine stile

August 27th wensday there was an a larm given last night it was false the sentinel got fritened and shot of his gun and run in this place is caled fort Tain

August 28th Thirsday thare was a detail of five men went into the mountains but found nothing

August 29th Friday all is quiet here nothing going on here but eating and laying round camp

August 30th Saturday nothing of importance going on here at present

August 31 sunday all is quiet in camp nothing of importance to rite about September the 1st monday 1862

there was a fine shower it refreshed everything very much one of our bois died in the hospital it was Sam brown

September 2 Tuesday there was a detail went out forging they got a lot of turkeys all quiet here
September 3d wensday we we went up in to the mountains after a team it belonged to a widow womon it was all the team she had the lieutenant put it to vote whater we should take it or not we voted not to take it she came out and thanked us
September 4th Thirsday our bois got a team at the tanyard we left here at two o clock for decato we got thare at dusk stacked arms thare was a detail to take the wagons over the river they peried all night
September 5th Friday by eight we were all over and took up our line of march north we marched all day it was very hot marching we incamped by a big spring
September 6th saturday we were on the road irley we pased the town of athens we halted for the night in the thick brush our other brigad joined us here general parmer (Palmer) has comand of the division
September 7th sunday we were on the road irley we were rear guard the 16th reg got fired into going through a pass and four wounded none cild the rebels run as soon as the had fired on us we pased elkton we forded elk river we have pike road now we camped in a flat botom
September 8th monday we were on the road irley we pased the town of pulaski we incamped for the night in an old field it rained a heavy shower the boys all have sore feet
September 9th Tuesday we were on the road irley we pased the town of Linvill we incamped at Calumbia on duck river there was a skirmish with the rear guard but did not a mount to much
september 10th wensday on picket last night all was quiet on the road irley the rebles fired into the rear before they got started ciling one man one of our six pounders opned on the town and sheled it the rebs had to travel we pased the town of spring hill we incamped for the night in a grove of nice timber the rebles folowed us all day
September 11th Thirsday on the road irley we were stationed along the train to guard it we pased the town of franklin this is a nice place the girls come out and give the boys flags we incamped in two miles of Nashvill
September 12th Friday we are incamped here we have made one hundred and sixty miles in seven days and a haf and had brigade drill bacase one of the bois shot his gun off axidently
September 13th saturday we went out on a scout we went four miles it was very hot and a good meny of the boys give out it was reported that our forige train was atacked but it was a mistake
September 14th Sunday the boys got up cross nothing right we had inspection there was another gun fired we had to have brigade drill again they punish the brigade for what one man does
September 15th monday we moved our camp to town on calige hill there was two of the 19 regth shot by one of the sitisens they had to call out the 42 regth to ceep the bois from hanging him without guge or Jury they burnt his house we are on haf rations for a few days this is nice place for as large a place
September 16 Tuesday nothing going on in camp here at presant
September 17 wensday on picket all quiet we had a nice shower the guards are pressing all the negroes to work on the fort and fortifications round town
September 18th thirsday off picket and returned to camp three of our bois got tight up town and got in the work house we have had no mail for a long time our comunication is cut of and what we eat we have to forige for
September 19th Friday the right wing of our regth is throwing up intrenchments we are fortifying the town and building three forts there was eight wagons taken and burnt and thirty four mules by the guriles and several of our me[n] wounded
September 20th saturday thare was a detail to forige for corn and hay thare was a train left here after wards the guriles fired into it and wounded two of our regth

September 27th sunday on picket all quiet on our line the day passed of very quiet.
September 22d monday off picket shot of our guns and returned to camp we had coffee the first for a long
September 23d Tuesday nothing going on here for to day nothing of importance having taken place here to day
September 24th wensday thare was a detail to go forging nothing of importance having taken place here to day
September 25th Thirsday all is quiet here nothing but the same old thing tune all the time
September 26th friday it is reported that they are fiting on the pike we got orders to hold our selvs in readiness to move
September 27th saturday there was no fight yesterday as reported all is quiet here at presant
September 28th sunday there was a flag of truse came in and demanded the surender of the sity negley told them if they wanted it to come and take it we got six roundzs of catriges
September 29th mondady on picket all quiet they have not taken us yet nor are they likely to
September 30th Tuesday off picket shot off our guns and returned to camp the rebels time is out that they give us to surender and we are here yet and no sines of leaving
October the 1st wensday 1862
we were wakened at twelve at night we marched till after daylight we halted at goadleys vill drew up in line of batle laid till after nine and then started back the cavelrey had a skirmish with the rebles they cild several and took fifteen prisners in all we did not lost a man we got back at noon
October 2d Thirsday at two oclock we were caled into line to go forging we got lots of corn and hay the bois got to stealing chickens and sweet potatoes the conel found it out and is going to punish them he had the regth surched
October 3d Friday thare was a rebel captin cild yesterday we went out and beried him nothing of importance to rite
October 4th saturday nothing of importance done here to day
October 5th sunday inspection of arms and preaching nothing more for to day
October 6th monday nothing going on here in camp to day we got got orders to be ready to march at twelve at night
October 7th monday we went fifteen miles to the town of lverme and routed a camp of rebles cild thirty and wounded eighty took three hundred prisners their camp and equipage fell into our hands and some provision which we stood greatly in need of we got their colors and one piece of artilery
we had two cild and several wounded
October 8th wensday all quiet in camp we have two days rest for our good conduck yesterday at leverne [Lavergne]
October 9th Thirsday we have to day for rest we have not got comunication yet from the north
October 10th Fryday on picket all quiet on our line it has rained all the after noon thare was a flag of truce come in
October 11th saturday off picket it was cold last night and it rained all night we suferd some from cold we have got no over coats
October 12th sunday inspection of arms and napsacks the weather is still cold most of the boys are buisy making shell rings
October 13th monday all is quiet in camp here to day nothing of importance going on here at Presant
October 14th Tuesday nothing of importance going on here nothing to rite about for to day

October 15th wensday we had drill to day and dressprade we are on half rations and have ben ever sence we ben here it reported that buels army will be here tomorrow
October 16th Thirsday thare is some growling about grub here none of the boys satisfied Dressprade this eavning
October 17th Fryday Drill and dressprade nothing else
October 18th saturday the oficers had us up in ranks at four oclock it is reported that thare is a body of rebles in three miles of us we ware on picket all quiet on our line
October 19th sunday off picket shot off our guns and returned to camp it was a cold night last night our grub is giting short we have onily one meal of beaf a day we have nothing but bread to day and short alowence of that somé of the boys are talking of stacking arms if they dont git more but they wont it is onily talk

October 20th monday there was a detail went forging for grub and forige nothing of importance done here to day.

October 21st Tuesday the rebels made a dash on the picket line captured company c of the 22 regth and their maigor the rebles had on our uniform and they thought they ware our men we got orders to git ready to march with one days grub but we had none to take we fell in at eight and marched down town and crosed the river and got into the wagons and started the 78th pencilvania had a fight yesterday with twelve hundred cavelery they drove them 7 miles cild several and wounded several taking 15 prisners besides their conel

October 22d wensday at day light found us at general Donilson plantation twenty miles from Nashvill we loaded our train of four hundred wagones and geatherd all the sheep and hogs and catle and started back we had a big drove we see no rebels

October 23d Thirsday nothing going on here there was a forse went out on this side of the river they got a big drove of stock and lots of forige the weather is cold we see the hardest time that we ever did see

October 24th Fryday nothing of importance going on here for the day

October 25th saturday all is dull here at presant nothing to rite nor eny thing else

October 26th sunday it snowed last night near too inches deep last night it is cold all quiet

October 27th monday nothing of importance going on here to day

October 28th tuesday on picket all is quiet on our line to day nothing to ceep up excitement

October 29th wensday of picket shot off our guns returned to camp we had skirmish drill this after noon we drilled to the sound of the bugle
October 30th Thirsday we went forging we got lots of forige retured before night
October 31st Friday we mustered for pay to day and had revew we have to live on hard bread

November the 1st saturday 1862

we had drill here today we have a good time if we are cut off from our friends and on haf rations
November 2d sunday there was inspection of arms and napsacs to day we have preaching here every sunday
November 3d monday nothing of importance going on here we have corn coffee now by giting the corn and parching it we had Drill in the manuel of arms for one our we hear all cinds of report here
November 4th Tuesday we had Drill as useal here nothing new to rite for to day all is quiet in camp
November 5th wensday we were awakened last night by two or three volleys of musketrey on the picket line we were orderd to fill our canteens with

water we laid round till daylight our picket line was drove back haf a mile a rebel batery opned but fell short and did no harm the 42 and 22 and our batery was orderd out they drove the rebels back we were orderd out and formed in line of batle we did not git to fire we went on picket at twelve thare was heavy canonading on the fronkling pike they drove the rebles of general morgon took over a hundred prisners and two peaces of artilery I think the rebles have got a nuf of taking nashvill our loss is light

November 6th Thirsday off picket all quiet on our line we suferd from the cold it rained all night we beried two rebles that were cild on our post by the fifty first when the atack was made the advance of rosecrants army came in last night the convalesents of our regth came in

November 7th fryday we were orderd out with two days provision in our haversacks we went to michelvill we pased one division of our army we pased goodleysvill reashed michelsvill about nine at night we are after grub

November 8th saturday we did not sleep much we bult a big fire and laid by it we have ben loading our teams all day we will be ready to start back at three in the morning troops have ben pasing here all day for Nashvill

November 9th sunday at three we wore on the road we made in tenn miles of nashvill we pased six hundred and seventy wagons going after grub we will have plenty now

November 10th monday we maid nashvill by day light thare was a heavy frost we have had a hard march of it

November 11th Tuesday thare is general revew here to day our reg'th did not go out we were on brigade guard the troops were revewed by general resencrant in person

November 12th wensday it rained last night we got our mail to day we had a good time reading our leters

November 13th thirsday nothing of importance we had Dressprade we cut quite a swell we have got while gloves and dresscoats

November 14th friday dressprade as useal nothing else of importance to rite about for to day

November 15th saturday we are on picket all quiet on our line

November 16th sunday off picket returned to camp nothing of importance going on in camp

November 17th monday nothing of importance going on here

November 18th tuesday it rained all night nothing of importance going on in camp

November 19th wensday on picket all quiet on our line it rained to day

November 20th thirsday off picket returned to camp nothing futher for the day

November 21st friday nothing of importance capt allen gat back he has ben home he left us at Iuka

November 22th saturday the weather is chiley her nothing going on in camp thare was a heavy frost

November 23d sunday on picket all quiet on our line it is cold and chiley

November 24th monday off picket returned to camp all quiet in camp

November 25th tuesday nothing going on in camp it is lonesome her thare was a big fire in town

November 26th nothing of importance we have to go on picket tomorrow it is cold here

November 27th thirsday we wore awakened at one with orders to git ready to march at thre with two days provision in our haversacks and one in the wagons we wore on the road a little after three we took the sharlott pike and went 21 miles the guriles fired on us we camped for the night on harpers river we wore tired and had very sore feet

November 28th friday the guriles fired on our picket in the night and they all run but one of our boys James rose he stood his ground the guriles [guerrila] run we started back at neight we maid nashvill by dark the men were nearley give out we goat a rebel captin and two or three privats

November 29th saturday we rested to day from all duty

November 30th sunday on picket all is quiet on our line nothing worth riting it rained some to day.

December the 1st A. D. 1862

of picket returned to camp nothing going on in camp all is dull nothing to ceep xcitement up

December 2nd tuesday we moved our camp about three hundred yards this is not as good a camp as the other

December 3d wensday on picket all quiet on our lines we have plenty of duty to do here at presant

December 4th thirsday off picket returned to camp we are sining the pay roll for two months pay and there is five due us

December 5th friday we got paid off to day we setled for our close it snowed to day it is cold

December 6th saturday nothing going on it is lomesome here some of the bois got on a bust and had a fight we let them fight it out

December 7th sunday of picket all quiet on our line nothing of importance going on here

December 8th monday off picket returned to camp nothing else for the day it is dull here

December 9 tuesday we got orders to march with three days provision in our haversacks we fell in and started and then got orders to come back to camp we stacked our arms and are wating orders

December 10th wensday we got order to strike our tents and be ready to march at tenn we moved to the front six miles to camp sherden we piched our tents on a hill side it is a nice camp in the timber

December 11 thirsday on picket all quiet on our line it is reported that there is a large body of the enimy in front but we have not seen any thing of them

December 12 friday off picket returned to camp nothing going on in camp

December 13 saturday we have dressprade in the morning now we drawed overcoats to day

December 14 sunday nothing going on here in camp it is dull her and lonesome

December 15th monday we had Dress prade it rained in the afternoon so that we could not drill

December 16th tuesday we were awakened at three with orders to have three days provisions in our haversacks and be ready to march at six but we did not go we had Drill in the four noon nothing of importance going on in camp

December 17th wensday peleocing our camp nothing firther we went forging in the after noon got back at dusk

December 19th thirsday we had Dressprade no drill we had to fix our tents a litle on picket to morow

December 19 fryday on picket we are on the reserve all quiet on our line for the day

December 20th saturday off picket returned to to camp all still in camp

December 21st sunday had Dressprad and inspection of arms all quiet in camp

December 22d monday we had Dressprade as useal we had inspection of napsacs the conolonel shoed the boys how they ought to pack them we had Brigade drill this after noon

December 23d tuesday we went forging all quiet got back to camp litle after noon

December 24 wensday we got orders to march at six but did not start till after noon we went about half a mile halted staid awhile then marched back to camp we had struck our tents we are wating orders but got none

Canp[1] Sheridon DeCember 25th Thursday Christmas having Come and found us lying Out without eny tents thoe about 9 Oclock orders Come to pitch tents a gain and the trups past the day off in perfeCt quietness till eavning when orders Came to form the regment by Compnys and reCeive a treat of Mint Jelop wiCh the Cornel had furnished by him it Caused some litle disturbinCe during the fore part of the night

Camp Sheridon DeC 26th Friday

This Morning at 4 oClock roal Call Sounded and orders was giving to air prep 3 days rations and to put 2 in the wagon Making 5 in all and prepair to March by daylight and at 6 OCloCk Genral Mc Cooks Corps was on the difrent roads MarChing towards Nolensvill and a bout 10 OCcloCk it ComenCed raining thoe it did not Stop the advanCe of the trups and a bout 12 oClock We Came a pon the enymes Calvery piCkets tha wer posted a pon a hill a Cross a Creek and tha had blouen up the Stone bridge to prevent out advanCe thoe the 27th was throuen out as SCermishers to drive them to the town and at it the Men went all eager for a fight the Creek did not Stop them tha plunged it to it Some of them holding ther Catrage boxes a pon ther heads to Keep ther powder dry and when the rebles saw them So determn tha left on double QuiCk time thoe Mean time the right wing Comanded by Gen Johnston had Come up and opend fire on the inCampement when a Sharpe SCermish took plaCe wiCh lasted a bout 1 hour when the rebles left leaving ther wounded and 2 pieCes of Canion in our hands our Men drove them a bout 2 Mils when darke Came and our forCes had to Camp for the Night and and our regment Sufedl MuCh for a bout Midnight it turned very Cold and orders wer givin Not to law eny fire a long the piCket line

Satuarday DeC 27th this Morning orders Come for our regment to join our bregade on the pike a gain the Men move of in fine Spirits in Spite of the rain that Continues to fall thoe the bregade does not MarCh far till the Comand was givin to halt and Canoelon is herd in our front thoe it is our batries Shelling the woods thoe we wer not detained long till we Moved a head thoe it Continued to rain till 4 o CloCk when we took posesion of a nother of ther posesion Cold Churchill grove whear we Campt for the night

ChurChille Grove DeC 28th

This morning roal Call was at 3 O. clock and orders was givin to bee redy to MarCh by daylight thoe when daylight Came the orders wer countermanded on a Count of it beeing th Sabeth day the Sun Came out and evry thing looked butifle and evry thing was Quiet during the day no one would thot at the first Sight that there was a batle to bee fot

Monday Morning DeCember 29th

This Morning we wer roused from our Slumbers at 3 o Clock and at daylight the army was under the Move again Moving baCk tward nolensville Some ixCitement a moung the trups as to ther destination thoe tha we not Kepp long in Suspenc for our Corse was Changed by MarChing a Cross to the Chatinga pike thoe not meating eny obstiCle in the road and at dark we StruCk the turn pike and Met the 4 U. S. Calvery and tha reported the enyme in forte a bout 2½ miles thoe our brigade moved on to the front a bout 1 Mile when we filed off to the left into a Corn field thoe MarChed into the woods whear we lay on our arms till morning thoe it rained nearly all Night

Tuesday DeCember 30th

This Morning daylight Came it Seased raning and found us out of eny thing to eat and the reble Cavlry had SuCKseaded in geting into our rear and had burnt our Suplies that had left nashville thoe we tuCk up our line of MarCh in Spite of our hunger thoe did not advanCe for till we found Meny regments a long the road asking what regment and when told that it was the 27th ill tha Could not help giving Chears for the enyme

[1]The handwriting changes here. Note the length of the insertions.

was plain to bee Sean and we did not advanCe fare till we Come a pon ther SKermishers when the 22d 42 ill we throen out as Sharp Shooters to drive the SKermishers thoe tha Soon found a brigade of them behind a fenCe when the engagement beCame genral and when dark Come we had SuCKseded in driving them from ther plaCe of ConCealment thoe drove them to the timber and when the trups wer in camp it was ascertained that our bregade had lost during the day 9 woonded 4 Kild thoe the 27th Ind 51st was not ingaged to day

Wensday December 31st

This Morning roal Call at 3 O Clock as uasal and when daylight Come it brought forth a Sean that will bee long remberd by every ameriCan for during the night the enyme had throng ther hole forCe onto our right and ataCted Gen Johnston or rather took him by Surprise while meny of his trups wer at brekfast and tha fled leaving ther arms in the rebels hands and then tha ataCted Genral Jell (Jeff) C. Davis when tha found a man and soldiers redy to fight them

Thoe after Near 3 hours hard fighting he was forst to fall baCk on a Count of Johnston leting them in his rear and that throad them on to Genral Sheriden when the batle beCame to a very high pitCh and tha Come up a pon us thoe we did not open a pon them till tha Come up within good range when we opened a pon them with SuCh heavy fire when the rebels wer forst to give way thoe Mean time tha had SuCKseeded in planting 3 batries of artilry and ComenCed Shelling us thoe the Men Stude up to it in the best of order and the rebles advanCed a gain thinking tha would Make us give way a gain thoe our fire was to muCh for them More than tha Could Stand and tha gave way in this way 3 defrent times when orders Come that tha wer gibing in our rear and we wer forsed to give baCk thoe MarChed out in perfeCt order to the pike when we Met Meny trups going to the right and our bregate was orderd to Suport the Center and we advanCed and Saw the rebels advanCing to the Center when we was orderd baCk to the pike when Genral McCook Came up and wanted to kow hoe gave orders to fall baCk when he orderd us to advanCe a gain when ther Magar gave the orders to a bout faCe forward MarCh and the left wing fixed baynots and MarChed into the timber a Mid the Shower of bulets that wer Coming from the Enyme that had SuCkseeded in gaining the timber thoe on tha went and when we got within 75 yards of them tha broke and run and as tha had to Cross a open field we porde a distruCtive fire Causing meny of them to Surender to us thoe we hel the ground and that night a bout 9 O CloCk we reCived rations and the Genral gave orders to give our bregade all tha Could eat for tha Saved the army on that day thoe after the Men had eating all tha wanted tha lay down to pass the night the best tha Could thoe it was very Cold————

Thirsday January 1st Campt On the batle field This Morning firing ComenCed all along our line thoe it was the piCkets firing eaCh other thoe no a taCt was Made on us till a bout 2 O CloCk when a bout 3 bregades filde out of to the timber and then one Came up within 2 hundred yards and opend fire on us wheare we wer posted behinde a Small brestwork that we EreCted during the day thoe when we opend a deade fire on them tha fled behinde a fenCe and into a large Sinke hole that was Close to them whear tha remained till the Cornal Orderd out 2 Compnys to bring them in that Surendered without firing a gun at the Same time giving three Chears for the Union

Friday January 2d 1863

Still in line of batle this Morning thoe nothing of importanCe Came with daylight thoe Shortly afterwards our Canons opend fire Shelling the woods for a bout one hour thoe the Enyme Canot bee Seen in muCh forCe till a bout 4 O CloCk in the Eavning when tha Came out of the timber Making a Charge on the left Causing our Men to fall baCk and Meny of them run into Stones river that tha had Crosed during that afternoon thoe Genral rusan [Rosencrans] reCeived them with rather a warm reCeption for he porde a distriCtive fire of grape and Canistor a moung ther ranks piling Sevral hun-

dred of them a pon the field the balanCe fled in Confusion Our Men making a baynot Charge a pon them taking Sevral hundred purisners and the Shades of night Closed over a Sean that will long bee remberd by evry loyal person.

Saturday January 3d 1863

Still in line of batle thoe thare was nothing took place till evning only buring the dead that was Close to our lines the rebles reCived the Same burel as our one thoe it would make the hardest heart Shuder to See so meny laid under the Cold ground without Sroud or Coffin and no Marke left to tell his friends hoe Might SerCh for him thoe a bout 4 O Clock in the evning during a hevy Storm of rain and wind tha Made a Nother and last despreate Strugle thoe tha Met the Mesengers of deth and was forst to fall baCk with a dexperate loss

Sunday January 4th 1863

Still in line of batle behinde our brest works thoe thare is no enyme to bee Sean in our front and the SKermishers ComenCe advanCing when The report Came that the rebles had a vaCkuated and heavy Camodon is herde beyond Murfreesboro and it is Soon asertained that tha have Skidadled and our Cavlry is in pursuit of them and orders wer givin for a detail of Men to goe over the hole batle fields and bery the dead and by 12 O CloCk it was asertained that our loss would a mount to Near 7 thousand and that of the enyme 20 thousand our bregade lost in kild and woonded near 5 hundred and the divishon lost 17 hundred and our regment lost in kild 13 and woonded 68 and a bout 1 hundred taking prisners thoe thare is a gloome haning over our regment on a Count of the deth of our Cornal that was Mortly woonded on the 30 of DeCember and Genral roberts Comanding our bregade fell pierst with 7 bulets at the Same time thoe the dead was all beried and the town taking posesion of thoe evry house was taking for hospitles and the Sitisans all fled with the flying eynme[1]

Monday January 5th 1863

This Morning roal Call was Sounded at 3. o. CloCk on a Count of guarding a gainst eny Surprise for it is reported that the reble Cavly is lurking in our rear thoe it is raining and the Men are drenChed with the rain thoe tha are all in good heart to think that our army is Crowned with a Nother viCtory thoe Nothing tooke plaCe worthy of note ad on a Count of the mud we are keep in our old posesion

Tuesday January 6th 1863

This Morning the Sun rose Clear and orders wer given to prepair to Move by 10 thoe dide not Start till 3 in the afternoon when we took our posesion on the bank of Stones river wheare we ixpeCt to remain the Suplies Can bee beat up for the army to Move

Camp on Stone river Wensday January 7th 1863

it is asertained that nearly all of our batry horses has bin kild and the Men are all in want of Clothing and Genral RosenCrant Started Capital for what purpos we Canot asertain

M. Thirsday. January 8th 1863

This Morning thare was details made to polease the Compny grounds nothing Else tooke plaCe during the day of importanCe thoe it ComenCed raining about 5 O Clock

Camp Stones river Friday January 9th 1863

Nothing of importance to day has transpired till in the evning when the mail reaChed Camp Causing Some litle exCitement a moung the men for tha had not herd from home nor friends for more than 10 days

[1] For reports on the Stone's River Campaign, Dec. 26, 1862-Jan. 5, 1863, see War Records, Series I., vol. XX., pp. 176, 209, 227, 369-371. Report of General McCook, ibid. p. 256: "Although this brigade was much reduced in numbers, and having but two rounds of cartridges, it advanced to the charge, under the gallant Colonel Bradley, driving the enemy back with the bayonet, capturing two guns and 40 prisoners and securing our communication on the Murfreesboro pike at this point. This brigade is composed of the 22, 27, 42, 51 Illinois Volunteers. The 27th particularly distinguished itself."

Camp. Stones river. Saturday. January 10th 1863
To day the Compny ofiCers held an a lection in favor of a Cornal in plaCe of Cornal Herington he fell mortly woonded at Morfreesboro that proposed to have Cap rust for Cornal thoe it Makes Some litle disatifaCtion a moung the Men tha would rather have the Major for the Cornal

Camp Stones River Sunday January 17th 1863
To day the left wing was ordered to go as a guard to ColeCt Corn and SuCh other forige as Could bee found for the army teams and trups thoe a bout 3 o CloCk that returned without inCountering eny of the enyme tha had SuCkseeded in loding the train

Camp Stone river Monday January 12th 1863
To day the regment had Company drill drilling the manuel of arms and in the after noon tha had to polease the Compny grounds

Tuesday
Camp Stones river January 13th 1863
This Morning the regiment had rool call at 4 o clock and the call to the Cullers for arms to be stacked and that to ware our acoutermentz till after dressparade which was at 8 oclock and ordrs wer published ConSerning the army of the Cumberland

Wensday Camp Stones River January 14th 1863
This morning the Same instruCtions was givin as that of yesterday a to StaKing arms and waring Cooterments and a bout 10 oCloCk Liutenant A. J. Sides returned to the Company from Nashville whear he had bin for the last 2 Months on detaChed Servis

Thirsday
Camp Stones River January 15th 1863
To day our bregade reCived orders to go on piCket Guard the 42 Ill was on the reserve while the 27 x 51 x 22 is on out poste and a bout 5 in the Eavning it ComenCed raining and Continued raining all night the Men Sufered MuCh on a count of the Cold and the relief did not Come till a bout 12 oCloCk tha the usel hour is 7 in the Morning

Friday
Camp Stones River January 16th 1863
this Morning the regment Came off piCket guard the men is in a very bad umor on a Count of being drenChed with the rain that fell during the night the wind blod very hard and Cold with oCashnel Snow Squals and by 4 oCloCk in the eavning the ground began to freez this is the first winter that we have Seen in the Sunny South

Saturday
Camp Stones River January 17th 1863
this Morning the Men is very buesy a falling timber for wood to burn in the tents for the wether Continues very Stormy and Cold thoe thare is no duty for the Men to doe

Sunday
Camp Stones River January 18th 1863
the wether Still Continues very Cold thoe Clear and orders are given to have inspeCtion of KnapSaCk and amunetion and a bout 2 oCloCk in the after noon the boys Came up from nashvill wher tha have bin for Some time Wm. Huston Thomas Comer also Came up hoe was Slightly wonded at the batle of Stones river

Monday Camp Stones River January 19th 1863
this Morning the wether is Some warmer than it was yesterday thoe it is Cloudy and thretens rain the OffiCers are a drawing Clotts for the Men and the ordly Sergents have reCived orders to have the Compny grounds poleased and Sinks dug

Tuesday Stone river January 20th 1863
to day the elements thretens rain thoe thare is orders for bregade inspeCtion of arms and aminetion thoe the order was Countermanded on a Count of the rain that ComenCed raining

Wensday
Camp Stones River January 21st 1863
To day the wether Continues Clody with freKent Chowers of rain and in the after noon the wether took a sudent Change turning very Cold and the Men begins to renew the ataCt on the Meny fine ash trees that Suround our Camp for the purpos of geting wood

Thirsday
Camp Stones River January 22d 1863
To day the wether is Clear and the wind is blowing from the South and the mud is drying up fast and the Men Move a bout with More Spirit for thare is a rumar through Camp that the army is ingagin the enyme on the petomiCK and at retreet the order was givin to prepare for piCKet Guard by 7 oClocK in the morning Friday
Camp Stones river January 23d 1863
This morning roal Call at 4 oCloCK and at 7 oCloCK the bregade took up a line of MarCh on the Shellyville pike a bout 3 mils from Camp when we Came to the piCKet line and the right Wing of the 27th Stud on the out post while the left wing Stud as reserve the elements thretens rain the does not rain till morning

1863
Satuarday Camp Stones River January 24
This morning daylight Maid its aperanCe with the Elements poring forth its refreshing Showery thoe it is not very welComed by the trups tha would have Clear wether for of late tha have bin drenChed often the Cavlry brot in Sevral prisners tha State that brag has Made a Stand at Shelbyville and alous to fight thare and a bout 10 OCloCK the relief Came and relived us
Sunday January 25
This Morning the Cornal Miles went and SeleCted a beter Camping ground for the regment and thare was a detale maid out of the Compnys to poleas it of and Shop wood nothing elCe of importanCe took plaCe
Monday January 26th 1863
This morning the orders wer givin to move our Camp to a More dryer plaCe a bout ¼ of a mile the Men wer forst to Cary evry thing tha had inCluding tents on a Count of the teams being gon to nashville for Suplies for the divishon nothing elCe took plaCe of importanCe
Tuesday January 27th 1863
this Morning a hevy Snow Storm bloed tremendeous and it is very Cold and the Cornal had reCived orders to take his reg to the erth worKs to work thoe tha wer Countermanded on a Count of the Storm and the Men have all tha Can do to Keep warm
Wensday January 28
to day the wether is warmer than it was yesterday thoe thare is nothing of importanCe a going on the Men are a Clearing up the Camping grounds
Thirsday January 29th 1863
Today the regment was orderd to Choping and Clearing off the Calor line and half past 4 oCloCK had dressperaid and orderds published
Camp Stones River Friday January 30th 1863
This Morning had roal Call at 4 oCloCK and reCived orders to prepair to MarCh at 7 oCloCK to guard a foragin train wiCh went out on the Shelbyville pike thoe we did not go More than 5 Miles from the piCKet line when the rebles opened fire on us with artilry the Shell passing over our regment one of then hiting Lt Sides on the arme thoe our artilry Soon Silented them
Saturday January 31st 1863
This Morning rol Call at 5 oCloCK and orers wer givin to prepair for piCKet guard by 7 oCloCK the regment Stood in the Same place as before nothing took plaCe of importanCe

Sunday February 1st 1863

Came of piCKet this Morning and was a lowd the balenCe of the day to rest thoe it was rumerd through Camp that 3 hundred tenneseens Came in from the rebles gave them Selvs up and took the oath of eleganCe to the United States of a MeriCa

Monday February 2d 1863

This Morning the order was givin to prepair one days rations and worke on the earth works the Men worKed all day very well and returned to Camp at dark

Tuesday February 3d 1863

3rd[1] Brigade is on grand guard today left wing on reserve, right wing on post. Reble Cavalry lurking about our line today little firing on front during the day. Light Snow fell during early part of the morning. Aire quite chilly.

Report says General Bragg intends to establish his Head Quarters at Murpreesboro at an early day

Camp on Stone River Tennessee Feb. 4—1863

The Regiment is relieved at 7 o'clock by 77th Penn. Regt which Regt. Suffered Severely in the late engagement. One Company has 12 men another only 8. A 3 o'clock P. M. the Regt. is formed and hurried part of the way on double quick two miles outside the picket line to protect a forage train. We find the train secure, most of the teams loaded and on their way back. Return to camp through snow Storm.

Stone River Tennessee Feb .5—1863

There is no rest of the wicked. Rigment is on grand guard again today. Right wing on reserve.

Received our mail at noon. Nothing important in late papers. It has been a cold cloudy day much colder than we have been accustomed to during the winter. Little Snow falls at intervals during the day

Stone River Tennessee Feb 6—1863

Are relieved at an early hour and return to camp, roads very Slippery in consequence of the late Snow, rain and cold. Heavy mail today. Newspapers contain some very interesting Articles from the pen of loyal Rentrickrans. The are unconditional Union men. No news from General Grants army, none from the Army of the Potomac.

Camp on Stone River Tennessee Feb. 7th 1863.

The Regiment is allowed one day's rest and all seem thankful for the favor. Large train goes out foraging this morning, is not long out when we hear cannonading which proves the Rebels are following up their old tricks, entertaining the train guard with a lively game, not of *Bat & Ball* but *Shell* and Ball. Train comes in afternoon laden with forage. Nothing Special today.

Stone River Tennessee Feb. 8—1863

Another pleasant day is spent in camp. Nothing noteworthy has occurred today, no news from picksburg, though we are daily expecting something important. Much excitement North at the present time. There now exists just grounds for apprehensions of trouble there at no distant day. Northern Traitors are thrice more to be abhorred than those of the South now bearing Arms gainst us.

Stone River Tennessee Feb. 9—1863

The day passes off very quietly. But little news today. Rumors of serious nature continue to arrive from the North. 27th Regt. has orders this evening to be ready to march at 6¾ oclock tomorrow morning provided with two days rations. We are going to Nashville to guard Supply train. Cars will soon be running through as far as Stone River suburbs of Murfreesboro

[1] The handwriting changes here. It becomes more like that at the beginning of the diary.

Camp on Stone River Tennessee Feb. 11—1863

The Bugle sounds at 7 oclock for the Regt. assemble on Color line and soon after we are on the road to Nashville. 27th Regt. is in the rear. The train is made up the 1st & 3rd Division teams Leridan & Davis 200 wagons in the train Most of the train arrives in Nashville during the evening a few are belated and are obliged Stop for the night 8 miles out side the picket line. The roads are very muddy and the rain incessant during the afternoon and evening. 27th Regt. on arriving in the City is sent to the Court hous where the men find comfortable quarters for the night

Nashville Tennessee February 11th 1863

The train is loaded during the day and all in readiness to move at an early hour tomorrow morning for our camp on Stone River. The men spend the day loafering about the city making a few purchases &c. can not purchase much for want of Green-backs, been too long since pay day. A fleet of Transports arrived here a few days since bringing reinforcements for Rosecrans Army, Reinforcements will move toward Franklin soon.

Nashville Tennessee Feb. 12—1863

Are on the road to Murfreesboro at an early hour 27th takes the lead and arrives at Laveryne soon after noon. The train closes up and all encamp for the night. We have had a hard little march. Rain during the forenoon. Roads very bad

Laveryne Tennessee February 13th—1863

Set out in advance at 7 oclock and arrive at Murfreesboro at 12 at 1½ oclock P. M. reach camp. The march has been a severe one on the men in consequence of the inclemency of the weather. This has been a fine day. The rest of the Brigade left camp this morning with five days rations, and we expect to follow tomorrow. The Brigade will be stationed near Salem on the pike of same name, three miles beyond the present picket line. Do not see the necessity of Stationing Brig. at that place.

Camp on Stone River Tennessee Feb. 14th 1863

The Regiment lies quietly in camp during the forenoon resting after the toilsome march to Nashville After noon have orders to join the rest of the Brigade and accordingly Set out from camp at 1½ oclock through the rain and after an hours march reach the ground where the Regt. has to bivonac. Shelters are soon constructed by Spreading of Rubber Blankets, beds are made of corn Stalks, weeds and grap and night finds the men as comfortably fixed as could be expected. Cold and chilly this evening.

Near Salem, Tennessee February 15th 1863.

22nd Regt. being on picket today the 27th has no duty to perform. Refugees come inside our lines today fleeing from the Rebel conscript law. These men Say the Rebel authorities are Sending armed Squads of men through the country forcing all able-bodied men into the Confederate ranks.

Weather cold—disagreeable Large mail today. Nothing important in late papers.

Salem Tennessee February 16—1863.

Right wing of the Regement is on grand guard today. Set out for the picket line at 8. A. M. Company C has nine posts,—part of one relief comes from company E.

Cloudy and warm during the forenoon. Rains at intervals during the afternoon, and incessantly during the evening. Good mail this evening for the Regiment.

Salem Tennessee Tuesday Feb. 17—1863.

Are relieved at 8 oclock A. M. and return to our Bivonac where quiet reigns during the day. Have a heavy rain this evening.

According to Statements of papers, the Canal at Vicksburg is likely to prove a complete success. If it should, the Rebels will soon

have to evacuate an other Strong-hold, which they can not well afford to lose at the present time owing to the vast amount of Supplies received by them from Texas by way of that place

Salem Tennessee Wednesday Feb. 18—1863.

Nothing noteworthy had occurred today. It has been a cloudy day, little rain during the early part of the morning. Are disappointed relative to returning to camp today, will have to remain here a few days longer.

Salem Tennessee February Thursday 19—1863

Papers very barren today nothing from the Army of the Potomac, Mississippi or the Frontier. Nothing Strange occurs in camp today, It has been a cloudy and a *very, very* windy day, consequently very disagreeable, fires must be kept up or we freeze, and the Smoke almost blinds us.

Salem Tennessee Friday February 20th 1863.

All quiet in camp today. No important news from any Source. Has been a fine day—clear and pleasant. The voices of Birds in the grove remind us that Spring approaches. Mail today as usual. Some of the men busy themselves letterwriting while others are reading.

Salem Tennessee Saturday February 27th—1863

Clear and cold during the forenoon, Cold incessant rain during the afternoon and evening.

Receive word from prisoners taken at the Battle of Stone River Dec. 31st. They are now paroled and in camp at Annapolis Ind. They Saw hard times while in Rebeldom, and express a Strong desire to be exchanged that they may return to their Regiment where they may an opportunity of avenging their wrongs.

Salem Tennessee Sunday February 22nd 1863

Washington's Birthday. A Salute is fired by one Battery of each Division Army of the Cumberland, in honor of that Great, *truely* man. An order, relative to this gallant Soldier, and *true Patriot* and his glorious deeds during the Revolutionary war is read on dress-parade this evening and is not without effect. Rosecrans Stands nearly as high in the estimation of Army of the Cumberland as Washington did in the estimation of his army.

Salem Tenness Monday February 23—1863.

Two days rations are are brought out this afternoon for the Brigade So we are disappointed again about getting to return to camp. Lt. Colonel J. R. Miles receives his commission as Colonel this evening and is Serenaded by the Officers of 42nd Regiment. Major Officers have a lively time. All quiet about our lines today.

Salem Tennessee Tuesday February 24—1863.

The Right Wing of the 27th is on picket again today. It has been a beautiful day all quiet in and about camp Nothing Strange or interesting occuring. The Brigade will be relieved tomorrow by the 2nd Brigade of 3rd Division.

Salem Tenn Wednesday Feb. 25—1863.

The 2nd Brigade Started out to relieve us early this morning, but it is 10½ oclock A. M. We then prepare to return to camp and are thither after an hour's march through rain and mud. The Regiment has orders to report for grand guard tomorrow morning.

Camp on Stone River Tenn Feb. 26th 1863.

Heavy rain this morning before daylight. Regiment leaves camp for picket line at 7 oclock, rains during most of the day Right Wing is on reserve and takes Shelter in a large Stable. No mail to day in consequence of Bridges being Swept away by the late rain. No disturbance along the line during the day or evening.

On Stone River Tennessee Friday Feb. 27 1863

36th Illinois Regiment relieves the 27th in good time this morning and we arrive in camp about 10 oclock A. M.

Brid. Gen. N. B. Buford presents a beautiful flag to the 27th and it appears on Dressparade this evening for the first time

In beautiful letters may be read.
"Belmont", "Island No. 10", and "Union City".

Camp Stone River Tennessee February 28—1863.

Inspection and muster at 2 oclock P. M. Have Six months pay due at present with a good prospect of being paid for two or four months Soon. Most of the men are much in need of money at the present especially those who have families at home.

But the wants or Suffering of Soldiers wives in the North is nothing when compared with that of Soldiers families in the South. Those at the North are in a land of peace and plenty while those of the South live as it were upon a vast Battlefield where Destitution now reigns to a certain extent, and increases as the War progresses.

Stone River Tennessee March 1—1863.

At an early hour this morning for the Regiment to form on the Color line which it does and is Soon off foraging. Return to camp Soon after dark tired and hungry having traveled about Sixteen miles through mud and rain, rain ceases at 9 A. M. rest of the day fair. Visit a very hilly Sterile region, forage Scars. Met no enimy today.

Camp on Stone River Tennessee March 2nd 1863.

Regiment has no duty to perform today.
News unimportant. All seems to be at a Stand-Still in every department. Commissioned Officers meet today and elect noncommissioned officers whose names are to be placed on the Roll of honor. Three Private names chosen by the company are also placed on the Roll.

Stone River Tennessee Tuesday March 3—1863.

News from the North more encouraging. A change for the better has taken place in the minds of the disaffected and Sympathy for Rebels is growing less Sheridans Division us under marching orders We leave camp tomorrow morning with four days rations. Davis Division has marching orders also.

Stone River Tennessee Wednesday March 4—1863

Are off at an early hour toward Salem at which place we halt a couple of hours, during which we have a hard, though Short, Storm of wind and Snow Set out again and al dark go into camp two miles East of Eaglesville and fifteen from Murfreesboro. The country through which we pass is in places hilly or rather mountainous and Sterile, in other places it is more level and fertile, pass some cedar flats. Davis Division is not with Sheridans One Brigade of Cavalry accompanies our Division Cavalry breaks up a Small Rebel Camp today. Infantry meets no enemy except bad roads

Near Eaglesville Tennessee March 5—1863

Division moves into town in the morning and being posted on the hills which almost Surround the little town. Arms are Stacked and fires kindled. Rails disappear rapidly owing to the days being cloudy and cold. A Battle progresses from 10½ A. M. till P. M. about eight or ten miles North West of us. We hear the cannonading distinctly. Division does not move from town today.

Eaglesville Tennessee Friday March 6 1863.

Have orders to move this morning and are off toward Trinne, commences to rain Soon after we are on the road, travel five miles,—are met by a courier from General Rosecrans with orders to halt and await farther orders. Are formed along woody ridges, Stack arms, light fires, Stretch Rubber blankits for Shelters, and are soon prepared for Spending the night. The rain is incessant during the afternoon and evening.

Near Trinne Tennessee Saturday March 7—1863

Orders come at noon to move immediately toward Franklin on Harpeth. Soon on the road continue North ward till we reach Trinne and then turn Westward Travel five miles, over roads almost impassable after leaving Trinne, and halt for the night. Companies A. & B are on picket this evening. A part of General Steadmans command is Stationed at Trinne.

Between Trinne and Franklin Tenn March 8—1863.

The Bugle Sounds quite early this morning and at daylight we are ready to move, but being in the rear today we are detained Several hours, finally we get Started and after a hard little march over muddy roads, or field I might say as we often abandoned the roads we reach our Stopping place two miles East of Franklin.

Cannonading between Eaglesville and Trinne toward 12 oclock.

Franklin Tennessee Monday March 9—1863.

Marching into town this morning and after an hours rest move toward Columbia on Duck River. Ma'j Gen Granger accompanies our Division with a part his command, and takes command of the expedition. Our cavalry encounters the enemy before reaching Spring Hill and Skirmishing is commenced which is kept up till near night—the enemy falling back continually. We lose Several men no killed and wounded Numbers of the 4 Regt. U. S. Cavalry. A. B. Orr, formerly of of our company is among the killed. Go into camp at 8 oclock one mile SouthWest of Spring Hill. Other forces Several miles in advance. Rain late this evening.

Spring Hill Tennessee Tuesday March 10th 1863.

Owing to the incessant rain which fall during the morning the troops do not move till after eight oclock About this hour it ceases raining and we are soon on the road toward Clumbia. Before noon our Brigade, beign in front arrives near Rutherford Creek and is halted as the creek is Swollen by the recent rain and the Bridge gone we can-not cross. Our forces are placed in position on the hights North of the Stream while the enemy is seen on the hights South. It is reported that the Rebel Cavalry Suffered Some loss in Swimming the Stream. Rains incessantly during the afternoon and evening. Very unpleasant weather for marching and bivouacing.

Near Columbia Tennessee March 11—1863.

Our Infantry advances no further today. Cavalry forces a passage at a fort two miles above the regular crossing and proceeds as far as Duck River, beyond which the enemy has retired. Rutherfords creek is still Swollen, so it would be difficult for the Infantry to cross.

It has been a clear pleasant day. Encamp this evening on the same ground as last night.

Near Columbia Tennessee March 12—1863.

Have orders to be ready to march at Six oclock this morning and at the appointed time we move from our temporary camp thinking that we are going on the pike we turn our faces toward Franklin at which place we arrive at 4 o'clock P. M. and encamp on the South bank of Harpeth River a Short distance West of town.

Get papers this P. M. but they contain nothing of much interest.

Franklin Tennessee March 13—1863

The Division takes up its line of march toward Trinne this morning and after a Somewhat toilsome days march encamps a few miles South of the town on the Eaglesville road near where Steadman's forces had a Skirmish on the 8th inst.

Nothing of importance has occurred today.

Near Trinne Tennessee March 14—1863.

At an early hour this morning we are on the road bound for our old camp on Stone's River. 3rd Brigade in advance and the 27th leads the way. March a few miles, halt, Stack arms and wait for the Cavalry to come up and pass when we resume our journey and soon reach Eaglesville where we find Jeff Davis Division encamped. It left Stone's River a few days after Sheridan's and returns in our rear. After a hard march we arrive at our old camp and are no little rejoiced to get back, it sounds a little like returning home after an absence of of many days.

Stone's River Tennessee. March 15—1863.

The Regment lies quietly in camp today and enjoys the rest very much as many of the men are so Sore footed that they can Scarcely walk about camp.

It is reported thatVicksburg is being evacuated and that the forces from that place are reinforcing Bragg. But the report is doubtless untrue. The Rebels will not abandon that Stronghold till forced to do so.

Camp Schaefer on Stone's River Tennessee March 16—1863

It has been a very pleasant day nothing of interest occurring.—Still reported that Vicksburg is evacuated, though we have nothing reliable relative to it. The Brigade has orders to report for picket duty tomorrow morning.

Stone River Tennessee March 17—1863.

Report for grand guard at 7½ oclock this morning and are soon out on the line and Stationed near our old post. All quiet along the line during the day and evening. Receive mail this afternoon. No news of interest in news papers.

Stone's River Tennessee March 18—1863.

The Brigade is relieved at 9 o'clock A. M. an on arriving at camp learn that the Paymaster is ready to pay the 27th Regt.—Receive pay for four month,—from first of September to 31st December. Soldiers are preparing to send most of their money home Nothing worthy of note has transpired today all quiet.

Stone River Tennessee Thursday March 19—1863

The 27th Regiment moves to a new camp not far from the old one and closer to the River. Part of the day is Spent policing the new camp. Part of the Brigade moved yesterday. Weather pleasant.

Camp on Stone's River Tennessee Friday March 20—1863.

Have Battalion Drill at 2 o'clock this afternoon.—Dressparade at 5 P. M. Nothing of Special interest today. Weather cloudy and warm. Sprinkles rain during the evening.

Stone's River Tennessee Saturday March 21—1863.

Firing commences on the Salem pike at daylight and a lively Skirmish is kept up for near two hours, when the Rebel cavalry is driven back by our Artillery and the firing ceases, all is quiet again. Our loss in the Skirmish amounted to three killed and four or five wounded.

General Sredidan reviews his Division today preparatory to a grand review by General Rosecrans tomorrow. But little news today.

Stone's River Tennessee Sunday March 22nd—1863

The grand Review which was to have come off today was postponed in consequence of our Brigade being on grand guard. Weather very pleasant. Nothing occurring to vary the rounds or break the monotony of camp life.

Camp on Stone's River Tennessee March 23—1863.

The Regiment is releived from guard at 8 oclock A. M. and prepares for grand Review at 10½.

General Sheriden, McCook and Rosecrans are present. The Review is conducted in fine style and the troops make a good appearance. Most of the Regiments do excellent marching.

General Roscrans compliments the Division.

Camp Schaefer Tennessee March 24—1863.

It has been a gloomy day, rained during the day and evening. Nothing noteworthy has occurred in or about camp today. Very light mail for the Regement today. But we need not expect much at one time when the mail comes daily.

Camp Schaefer Tennessee March 25th—1863.

Papers give the particulars relative to the fight near Milton on the 21st inst. where Colonel Hall with one Brigade whipped General Morgan Guerrila who had a force of 4500 men.

Rebel loss, killed 28, wounded 150. Federal loss not so heavy.
It rains today till 10 oclock A. M. when the clouds pass away and we have a pleasant day.

Camp Schaefer Tennessee March 26—1863.

At noon we receive orders to be ready to march at 2 oclock P. M. with all the rations we have on hand. Leave Camp at 2½ and are Soon at our destination which proves to be Salem. Night finds us prepared for a fine days bivouac. Two Brigades of the Division are out.

Camp Lookout Near Salem Tennessee March 27—1863.

The 22nd Regt. is on picket today and as but one Regement is on each day the the 27th has no duty to perform and consequently lies quietly in camp. All quiet alonge the picket line today.
Receive our mail at 3 oclock P. M.

Camp Lookout Tennessee March 28—1863.

22nd. Regiment relieved the 42nd this morning. 27th not on duty. It has been a cloudy cold, disagreeable day. Nothing of much importance or interest in the paper today, except extracts from Regel papers which draw a dark picture of the present State of affairs in the would-be Confederacy. There appears to be great destitution in many parts of the South. Southern Chivalry is now beginning to taste the fruits of Rebellion. The harvest is plenty and must be reaped and the fruit though bitter must be eaten.

Camp Lookout Tennessee March 29/63.

The 27th is on guard today, and has an unpleasant day for picket duty. The wind is very high and chilly, more disagreeable than a winter day. Pickets are unmolested during the day.
Receive mail as usual. Nothing Special.

Camp Lookout Tennessee March 30—1863.

The Regiment is relieved this morning at 8 oclock by the 51st Ill. Infty. Vol. The pases off very quietly.

The Com. officers unite with the men in a lively game of Lawn Ball during Several hours of the day. Very windy and cool today, have a little Snow after which a Shower of rain set in.

Camp Lookout Salem Tennessee March 31—1863.

The 1st Division, Davis, relieves the 3rd., Sheridan's, at 3 oclock P. M. and we return to our old camp.. Nothing new in camp.

Camp on Stone's River Tennessee April 1/63

No important news from any Source today relative to military affairs. News from the North is not as discouraging as some time ago. The Copperheads have less to say and the feelings of disloyalty are subsiding. Many Deserters from the Federal Army are now returning to their Regiments.

Camp on Stone's River Tennessee. April 4—1863.

For 2nd See next page.

At 7½ o'clock this morning the Regiment reports for grand guard. 27th Regiment is Stationed at and near the bridge on the Shelbyville pike.
The day is pleasant and passes off very quietly.

Camp on Stone's River Tennessee April 3—1863.

Battalion drill from 9 to 11 oclock A. M. Colonel J. R. Miles after drilling the first hour gives way to Lt. Colonel Schmitt who finishes the drill. Dressparade at 4½ oclock P. M. at which time Resolutions are read, and unanimously adopted by the men, which express Sentiments relative to the conduct of a part of the Democracy the North.

Camp on Stone's River Tennessee. April 2—1863.

Battalion drill before noon by Colonel J. R. Miles and Major Bradley. It has been a clear, windy pleasant day. No important or interest news today. Something important expected from the Army of the Mississippi soon.

Camp on Stone's River Tennessee April 5—1863.

The Regiment receives two months pay today, February and March. The men were not expecting pay again so soon, but the Surprise is a very agreeable one.

Weather clear and pleasant. No Startling news is received today.

Camp on Stone's River Tennessee Apr. 6—

Hear glorious news today. It is reported that Gen. Rosecrans has receievd a telegram Stating that Charleston has fallen. The men are not credulous enough to believe the report. Without doubt there has been an engagement there, but the result is not yet known to us. No mail for Company "C' today. Has been a fine day. Dressparade at 5 P. M.

Camp Schaefer on Stone's River Tenn Apr. 7—63.

No Drill this forenoon, the men devote their time to policing and ornamenting the Camp. Young Cedars are hauled and Set out in two rows along the company ground, one row in front of the officers tents. Yesterday's news is not confirmed today. News from Vicksburg not very encouraging. Weather pleasant.

Camp Schaefer Tennessee April 8—1863.

Two hours drill during the forenoon. Dressparade at 5 oclock P. M. Nothing later from Charleston. Weather continues fair and during the day pleasant, but chilly during the night.

Camp Schaefer Tennessee April 9—1863

At 2 oclock A .M. we receive orders to be ready to march at daylight. We are ready at the appointed time and wait patiently for orders to move anticipating a march of several days, but the order is not for a Scout, or is Countermanded and at 9 oclock we have orders to go on picket. Occupy the Same position as when out last. Been a fine day.

Camp Schaefer on Stone's River Tenn. April 10—

The Brigade is not relieved very early this morning. A part of the 6th Kentucky Regt. relieves our reserve. The Army of the Cumberland is mustered today to ascertain the number of men requisite to fill up the Regts. 3rd Brigade is mustered by the Brigade Inspector.

Weather Continues pleasant, Some prospects of rain.

Camp Schaefer Tennessee April 11th 1863.

Have Battalion drill at 9 A. M. by Col. J. R. Miles. He does better today than usual, finding himself deficient in drill he has been Studying Tactics aiming to be *pro*ficient. Dressparade at 5 P. M. Has been a cloudy day have a refreshing Shower.

Camp Schaefer Tennessee April 12—1863.

The Regiment has no duty to perform. Day passes very quietly by. Mail light today.

We hear no important news today. Alway expecting to hear some thing Startling but alway doomed to disappointment, or when we do hear good news it is apt to be contradicted in the next paper received.

Camp Schaefer Tennessee April 13—1863.

Two hours Battalion drill during the forenoon, but are excused from drill afternoon. It has been a beautiful day, cloudy in the evening—Sprinkles rain. Dressparade at five oclock P. M.

Receive orders for picket duty on the morrow.

Camp Schaefer Tennessee April 14th/63.

Leave camp for the picket line at Seven oclock this morning and after a Slippery march of one and a half miles arrive at our old post. Rain during most of the afternoon and evening. Little firing by the Cavalry on out post during the evening, but no disturbance along the Infantry line Today's mail is very light, amounting to only about three letters to each company.

Camp Schaefer Tennessee April 15—1863.

The 27th except companies A. & B., is relieved in good time this morning by the 35th Ills., the other Companies are not relieved till a late hour.

Has been a cloudy cool day, drizzling rain a goodly part of the time. The bombardment of Charleston has ceased, not much accomplished, loss on the Federal side very light, only three or four killed.

Camp Schaefer on Stone's River Tenn. April 16/63.

During the forenoon battalion drill, no drill after noon in consequence of a Sword presentation at Davison Head Quarters. Maj. Gen. Sheridan is the Recipient of the present. Sword alone costs Eight Hundred Dollars, Revolvers and other Articles added render the Cost 1400$. Presented by the Officers of the Division.

No Dressparade this evening.

Camp Schaefer Tennessee April 17—1863.

At nine oclock this forenoon the 27th Sete out to visit the old battle field, where the Brigade fough on the 31st Dec.

Arriving on the ground arms are Stacked, tanks broken, and the men are at liberty for Several hours to Scout around through the woods and over the fields. We then return to camp and at 5 P. M. have Dressparade. Weather fine.

Camp Schaefer Tenessee April 18—1863.

Company drill during the forenoon, noe after, men are busy policing camp. Very little news today, mail light. Has been a fine day fair and moderately warm.

Many Officers seem to credit the report of an early advance by Gen. Rosecrans. No doubt Rosie would rather let Bragg do the advancing this time.

Camp Schaefer Tennessee April 19—1863.

Forenoon cloudy, have Some rain; Afternoon fair and pleasant. Chaplain of the 51st. Ill. Infty Regt. delivers a Sermon at 5 oclock near the hospital of the 27th the different Regiments of the Brigade are represented al the Representatives make quite a congregation. No important nws today.

Camp Schaefer Tennessee April 20th 1863.

Receive orders this morning to be ready to go on out post near Salem by 9 o'clock A. M. about which hour we Set out from Camp, the men taking their Knapsacks with them that we may be prepared to join the troops on the march in case a forward movement while we are absent from camp. 3rd. Brigade is the only one ordered out today and, as two Regiments are on duty at the same time, we will be on duty half of the time while out. 22nd. & 27 go on guard today. Pleasant weather for guard duty. All quiet in front.

On Look-out near Salem Tenn. April 21—1863.

22nd. & 27th. are relieved this morning by the 42 two hours when we receive orders to make a reconnoisance in our front and are soon on the road. Halt after marching out about Six miles, Stack arms and rest till near four oclock P. M. when we Start back to our Bivouac where we arrive just at night. Commences to rain at 4 oclock, consequently we have a very unpleasant march returning. Encounter no Rebs.

Near Salem Tennessee April 22nd. 1863.

The 22nd & 27th. are on grand guard again today. All quiet. Weather pleasant. No news of importance in late papers,—Mail light.

Near Salem Tennessee April 23rd 1863.

Are relieved at the usual hour this morning. Nothing Strange or important occurring in or about camp. Deserters from the Rebel Army continue to come inside of our lines almost daily. All telling about the Same Story relative to the great destitution existing in the South especially in the Rebel Camps.

Weather pleasant.

Salem Tennessee April 24th 1863.

At 7½ oclock this morning we go on guard again and enjoy an other fine day. News more interesting today. Several gun boads and two transports have lately run the blockade at Vicksburg. General Banks is preparing to operate on the offensive and we may Soon hear of his Striking Some Serious blows to the Rebs along the Mississippi River

Salem Tennessee April 25—1863.

Soon after being relieved this morning a Brigade arrives to relieve ours and we are, after Some dlay on our way back to Camp Schaefer. Afternoon Gen. Lytle reviews the 1st Brigade of the 3rd Division. He has recently been assigned to the command of the Brigade. News from the Army of the Mississippi is encouraging.

The future looks brighter now than some time ago, and when Grant captures Vicksburg prospects will Sill more pleasing. It is like that General Grant will first occupy Jackson Miss. and then advance on Vicksburg from that direction. Rebls may hold out a month longer.

Camp Schaefer Tennessee April 26—1863

It has been a cloudy warm day. Nothing noteworthy occurring in or about camp.

Hear from Some Small expeditions Sent out lately to operate on the Reb's lines of communication. The raids have been Successful it seems though we have not yet read the details of the operations

Camp Schaefer Tennessee April 27—1863

It has been a dull day,—nothing ranspiring to break the monotony of camp life

The men devote a goodly part of the day policing and working about camp, consequently we have no drill.

Camp Schaefer Tennessee April 28—1863

Have no drill during the forenoon, Company drill afternoon. Forenoon cloudy and pleasant, Afternoon fair and too warm for comfort. No news from the Rappahanock and but little from the Mississippi, important news expected rfom Banks expedition up the River.

Camp Schaefer Tennessee April 29—1863

Battalion drill during the forenoon and policing after noon. Dress-parade after 5 o'clock P. M. Banks is punishing the Rebs on the lower Mississippi: —driving every right along,—Hooker is now reported moving, and we will soon hear something important from him. Little rain today

Camp Schaefer Tennessee April 30th/63.

The hour for mustering is changed from nine to six oclock this morning. After inspection we prepare for grand guard and at nine oclock Set out for the picket line. It has been a fair, pleasant day and has passed quietly

Camp Shaefer Tennessee May 1—1863

At daylight this morning there is Some firing along our advance line of Cavalry, but it soon ceases and all is again quiet. The 27th is relieved by the 59th Regt. Ills. Vol. we reach camp at ten oclock.
Very little news today. Weather fine as could be desired.

Camp Schaefer Tennessee May 2—1863

Inspection of Arms Ammunition and Knapsacks at 11 oclock. Nothing has transpired in camp today. General Hookers Army is reported across the Rappahanock and a big Battle is anticipated; farther news from the East is anxiously awaited.

Camp Schaefer Tennessee May 3—1863.

Company inspection at nine oclock, meeting at Seven oclock near Regemental Hospital
Dressparade at the usual hour this evening.
News important and cheering both from the East and the West, prospects brightening.We will hear of hard fighting before many days.

Camp Schaefer Tennessee May 4th 1863.

At nine oclock A. M. Col Miles marches the Regt. out to the drill ground, finds a Brigade drilling on our ground and decides to return to camp without drilling his Regt.

News continues favorable from the Armies of the Mississippi and Rappahannock. Thunder Showers after noon.

Camp Schaefer on Stone's River Tennessee May 5—1863.

Brigade drill from 9½ till nearly 12 A. M. by Col. of 42nd Ills. Regt. Battery drills with the Brigade. The men devote the afternoon to hauling boughs ornamenting and policing the company ground. News Still favorable, Federals are victorious every where

Camp Schaefer on Stone's River Tennessee May 6—1863.

All quiet in camp today, nothing ranspiring of importance. General Hooker has engaged Lee and has punished him Severely, loss heavy on both sides according to reports received

Weather cloudy, little rain,

Camp Schaefer Tenn. May 7—1863

At 7½ oclock A. M. the Brigade Sets out for the picket line and an hour later the old guard is relieved and returns to camp 27th is Stationed on the Shelbyville pike. The day is cloudy, drizzly and very disagreeable. One of our Vedetles was killed early this morning Hooker is Still fighting, or was at last accounts

Canp Schaefer Tennessee May 8—1863.

The new guard arrives at 8½ oclock and Soon after 9 oclock the Regt. returns to camp Dressparade at five oclock P. M.

Report says this evening that Hooker has been forced to recross the Rappahannock; possibly he has recross

Camp[1] Sheafer. Tennessee May 9th 1863

this morning the rose. clear and Bright. roll call at the Usual hour. It was Verry cool last night to day we are policeing the Company grounds this Evening all Is quiet Dressparade at 5/2 P. m. oclock nothing of Importance going on In front

Camp Schaefer Tennessee May 10 1863

this morning roll rall at the usual hour Regimental Inspection at 8. oclock" divine services at 11 oclock. A. M.

The Sun Shone Verry Brilliant this afternoon unusually pleasant all quiet In the front.

Camp. Schaefer Tennessee. May 11. 1863

No news—"this morning roll call at 5½ oclock. A. M. Brigade Drill this after noon 2 oclock till 4 P. M.

great Excitement In Camp. Reported capture of Richmond by Keys. forces—great enthusiasm Among the Boys—Heat Oppressive

Camp. Sheafer Tennessee. May 12. 1863.

this morning the Sun rose and Bright. Roll call at 5½ oclock Brigade drill this fore noon. I went over to 4 U. S. clavalry this forenoon dressparade at 5½ Oclock. P. M."

Camp Shaefer. Tennessee. May 13. 1863

No news from Hookers-arming" glorious News anticipated the Regiment has Orders for Pickets two citizens come through the the lines on the Shelbyville. Pike" commences to raining in the Afternoon all quiet along the lines

Camp. Schaefer. Tennessee. May 14. 1863.

This morning It Has cleared off. Remarable this morning two Refuges came thro the lines one of the number upon close Examination proves to be female the center of Attraction to the entire Battalion we come In of Pikett at 10 A. M. take breakfast go Into our holes—

Camp. Scheafer. Tennessee. May 15 1863—

Nothing new afloat in camp. Roll call at the usual time Brigade drill from 7 to 9 oclock Battalion drill In the afternoon dressparade this evening Exceedingly hot

Camp. Schaefer Tennessee. may 16 1863—

this morning the Sun rose, clear pleasant prospect cheering roll call at the usual time Brigade drill in the forenoon the day closses beautiful all quiett a long lines there was Cavalry ofrce Sent out

[1]The handwriting changes here.

Camp Scheafer near murfreesboro Tennessee May 17 1863
No news this morning police the Company grounds—
Inspection of Arms Ammunition Knapsacks" Some fear expressed of the Safety of Hookers-Arminy
Camp Scheafer near murfreesboro Tennessee May 18. 1863—
Nothing cheering this morning police the Company grounds—
Pickett orders—7½ oclock A .M.
Camp. Scheafer near Murfreesboro Tenn May. 19th 1863—
nothing transpired of Importance today police the Company grounds—we were relieved By the 88th Illinois at 8½ oclock we Return to Spend the afternoon In reading" orders Recived from department Head. Quarters to Pack up all Surplus baggage to Send Some Depo Either murfreesboro or Nashville. Baggage Reduced one hat on Cap 1. Bloss-or coat two Shirts two pairs Drawers 1 pair Shoes or Boots 1 pair pants 1 oil Blanket 1 woolen Blankett" Orders preparatory to marching on the rebel Stronghold at tullahomy"
Camp Shaefer marfreesboro Tennessee. May 20 1863—
Nothing Special this morning Camp policing Brigade drill fore noon two hours—U. S. Inspector Is to Be. Here to Inspect all troops" Battallion drill Afternoon"
Camp Scheafer near murfreesboro Tennessee May 2/1863
this morning the Sun Rose beatiful prospect of fine weather Roll call at 5½ oclock P. M." Brigade drill Is not abdoned It Sticks us verry much So think our Superiors—Imposses this unnecessary duty dressparade this evening at 5½ oclock.
Friday May 22 1863—
Camp Schaefer near murfreesboro Tennessee.
nothing new roll call the usual hour the Brigade Recives-orders to prepair for Pickett at 7½ oclock. P. M. weather changeable about noon the clouds Clears away prospect of fine day quiett along the front.
Camp Scheafer. Tennessee. May 23 1863
Roll call at 5½ police the company grounds fair & pleasant Some talk of a general move. Brigade drill forenoon 2 hours—Expedition Started out under command Brigdrd Gen. turchin former Col of 19 Ills.—Suport during the night.
they advance In two Colums—the Left on Shelbyville Pike Right two Battallions" Salem Pike About 10 miles" they attact Sharp Skirmishing for a few minutes" Rebels-dispersed Camp Captured too Hundred pris quite fine lot of Horses—In killed and verry Slight on our side loss 4 U. S. cavalry 3 men killd 11 wounded———
Camp Scheafer Tennessee Saturday May 24 1863——
Regimental Inspection forenoon Arms—ammunition Knapsacks clothing Inspectors—Col. Bradley & Staff—Brigade Comdg" He finds fault with Some of the men
Oppinion of most of the is not favorable for him our favorite has fallen
Camp. Scheafer tennessee Sunday. May 25. 1863——
It Has been clear and beautiful for the most part of the day
Brigade drill this forenoon Company drill from 4 to 5 Oclock
It Has been quite warm this afternoon
Camp. Sheafer Near murfreesboro Tennessee May 26 1863—
The morn Has dawned Roll call at the usual Hour
police the Company grounds—Re'ved Orders for Pickett 8½ oclock
1863 Head Qrs. 27 Illinois Scheafer. Tennessee May 27.
It is fair this morning the birds Sing So merrily It Reminds-us of Day of old we were relieved by the 93 Ohio Vols. Infantry.
Return to Camp take Breakfast Verry Dull In camp no News to that worth anything
1863. Head Qrs. 27 Illinois Scheafer Thursday May 28.
The Sun Rose clear and Beautiful this morning I was detailed to Day to get Brush to Build Bowers We Recived orders to go on Salem Pikett

1863. Head Qrs.—27 Illinois Salen tennessee May 29
It Is clear and beatiful this morning Roll call at 5½ oclock Went picket to day we Relieve the 15 mo the day Closes without anything Important transpiring great anxiety for Better News.
1863 Head Qrs. 27 Illinois Camp. Lookout tennessee May 30.
this morning all is quiet along the lines We came in off out Post Relieved by the 42 Ill Company Inspection afternoon all quiet in front.
1863 Head Qrs—27 Ills—, Lookout May 31.
Cloudy, dull weather out Post again to day It rained During the night Every thing passed off quietly to day great News Expected from Hookers Armeny It Is to Be Hopen that Hooker will gain some advantag
1863 Head. Qrs. 27 Illinois Camp. Lookout Tenn June 1st
Nothing new this morning Roll call at 5½ oclock
Come off pickett We were Relieved by the 42 Ills. Infantry.
It Has been clear and beautiful to day All quiet along the lines
Camp Lookout Tennessee June 2 tuesday 1863—
heavy rains falling cloudy Dull weather, Roll call at 5½ oclock. Releaved by the 2 Brigade Return to Scheafer Resume Bower Building
Camp Scheafer near murfreesboro Tennessee Wedesday Jun 3d 1863
prospect of Beautiful day. Bower Building still progressing onward. It Is to Be hope the work will Soon be Compleeted" Marching oders—Company Inspection great excitment In Camp everything in an uproar. 7 days rations in Knapsack & Haversack this a rather pour pill for us to Swallow, never the less this orders" Some curses others Recived mildly.
Camp Schaefer near murfreesboro Tennessee June 4—1863
nothing Verry New this morning Roll call at 5½ oclock Verry cool two Brigade went this morning all quiet this Evening
Camp Scheafer near murfreesboro tennessee Friday June 5 1863—
this morning is unusually wet and cloudy Roll call at 8½ oclock positive orders to Be ready to move at a moment Notice tents and Surplus Baggage to Be sent to murfreesboro
Camp Scheafer near murfreesboro tennessee June 6 1863 Saturday.
nothing new this morning Roll call at 8½ oclock policeing not Abdoned yet police the Co. grounds—nothing fresh or excting going in camp today favorable News—Recived from Vicksburg
Camp Scheafer murfreesboro tennessee Sunday June 7 1863.
this morning is clear, and Beautiful Roll call 5 ock Brigade Inspection at 8 oclock the sacred ordinance of Baptism was Administered to twenty five Soldiers of the third Brigade at two ock P. M. preaching by major Davidson of the 73 Illinois Vol. Infantry Ceremonies performed by Elder Reymond of 5/ Ills.
Camp Schafer near murfreesboro Tennessee monday June 8th 1863
this morning is unusually cool Roll call at 5½ oclock the 2 Brigades Has orders to go on. Salem pickett" this evening all is quiet all along the lines
Camp Scheafer near murfreesboro Tennessee Tuesday June 9 1863
this morning clear and Beautiful Rool call at 5 oclock police the Co grounds to day our Boys Return from their plasure trip into Dixie
They present a fine appearance weare quite glad to see them Jubillee among the Boys Peter Cassidy in the afternoon becomes very near Drunk toward evening Skirmish Drill two hours Return to camp Dress-parade at 6 oclock P. M.
Camp Sheafer near murfreesboro Tennessee June Wednesday 1863
no news this morning roll call at 5/2 oclck police the company grounds Brigade Drill this forenoon" heat Increasses" Skermish Drill one hour this after noon Return to camp dressparade
Camp Schafer near murfreesboro tennessee Thursday June 11th 1863[1]
nothing new this morning Rollcall at 5.2 police the company grounds The

[1]The report of T. M. Vincent, Assistant Adjutant General to Governor Yates on the condition of the 27th Illinois Volunteers, June 11, 1863, states that there were 800 men in it, serving for three years. War Records, Series III., vol. III., p. 741.

day unusually cloudy prospect of Rain Brigade Drill forenoon Verry warm Skermish Drill one hour return to camp dressparade 6 oclock P. M. Dull and Still

Camp Scheafer near murfreesboro tennessee Friday June 12 1863
this morning beautiful Rollcall the usual hour great excitement at murfreesboro A Rebel Spy to Be executed a great number of citizens gather together to witness the the execution" every thing passes off Harmoniously" dressparade at 6 oclk P. M.

Camp Schafer near murfreesboro Tennessee. Saturday June 13 1863—Is It clear this morning fine weather Rollcall at the usual hour exceedingly Hot. Brigade Drill 2 hours this forenoon at 4 oclock Major general Sheridan Review the Division In person all pass off in a verry cheering Style we marched in Reve Headed by our gallant Col. we got the praise" not for good marching But for A neat appearance march to camp to the time of Yankee doodle dressparade at 5/2 oclock P. M. all quiet along the lines

Camp Scheafer near murfreesboro Tennessee Sunday June 14th 1863
this morning is unusually quiet Rollcall at the usual at 5/2 oclock A. M. we Returned to go on Salem pickett at 10 oclock this forenoon" Sad accident a man by the name of John Camp cook of the 27 Illinois Co. E. was killed by the Brigade Butcher Hospital Sends Him to his friends they Butchers were arrested by order of Col. Bradley It Rained verry heavy this evening

Camp Look five miles from murfreesboro Tennessee Monday June 15th 1863
This moring is very fair and beautiful after the Rain we are Relieved the 42 Ills

Camp Lookout five miles from murfreesboro Tennessee June 16th 1863 Tuesday Nothing new this morning Rollcall at 5 1.2 oclock A. M. police the Camp there was detail of 24 men out of the Regt. for to get forage we go beond the cavalry out Post Return to camp there nothing Afloat this Evening great anxiety manifested for Better News It is to Be hoped that Gen Grant will gain Some Important advantage

Camp. Lookout five miles from murfreesboro Tennessee Wednesday June 17 1863 nothing new this morning Rollcall 5/2 oclock four companies Recived orders to go on Pickett at half past 7 oclock Capt Jansen of Co. A learns from contraband the where abouts of Some conceald Arms a detail was immediately got out they go to the designated house He finds two Splendid Revolvers one Shot guns two Squrrel Refles—this citizen Had the name of one of the Loyal Tennisseeians I Have no confidence in none of them

Camp Lookout five miles from murfreesboro Tennessee Thursday June 18th 1863 no News this morning Rollcall at 5½ oclock police the Company grounds—Still great Anixiety manefested for better News all quiet along the

Camp Stones River near murfreesboro Tennessee Friday June 19th 1863 It has been clear and beautiful today one Detail from the company for Pickett nothing Importance occurred to During the Day dull and Still

Camp Stones River near murfreesboro Tennessee Saturday June 20 1863 nothing verry new this morning rollcall at 5/2 great excitement in Camp today We draw five days Rations

Camp Stones River near murfreesboro Tennessee Sunday June 21 1863 this morning Rollcall at the usual hour the Sun Rose clear and Beautiful Regimental Inspection at 8' oclock of Arms Ammunition Knapsacks company Quarters divine Services at 10 oclck P. M. 16 Solders Baptised all of the third Brigade

Camp Stones River Near murfreesboro Tennessee Monday June 22 1863
Verry cool this morning Roll call at the usual Hour police the company grounds Drills are Suspended for Some unknown cause chaplain Brown of the 38 Ills preached at his Regt

Camp at Stones River near murfreesboro Tennessee Tuesday Jun 23 1863
It is Still continues Beautiful weather Rollcall at 5/2 oclock police the company grounds Bower Building not Suspended Verry heavy detail

Camp at Stones River near nurfreesboro Tennessee Wednesday June 24 1863
Rollcall at the usual hour cloudy and dull threatens Rain to day the etire arminy of the Cumberland Recives twelve days Rations moove at 8 oclock destination tullahony" We advance four miles come up to enemy at gayes gap the 39 Indiana mounted oppens the Skirmish on Woodbury Pike Co. A & B & D, and C are Detaild to Support the front lines 10 oclock we Remain till 4 oclck Relieved By the Second minnesota" wounded none killd none in the action
Encamped on the Battlefield Some five miles from Hoovers Gap June 25 1863 Heavy Rains falling this morning we pass a verry disagreeable night last night Grangers divis as passing to day Remained in camp fighting on heavy the front canonadeing in the Direction of hoovers gap thirteen pris Brought in from the front all quiet we go on picket to night
Encamped on the Battlefield Some five miles from Hoovers gap June 26 1863
Still it Rains" exceedingly disagreeable the Supply train is passing It is verry Difficult for wagon trains to get along Some fighting but no Important engagement yet Rollcall we Retire upon rather uncomfortable Bed
Camped on the Battlefield near Hoovers Gap tennessee June 27 1863
this morning Recived orders to march at 4 oclock we Reched the Pike Halted taken dinner Replenish our canteens Resume the march pass through the gap we have laborious marching Roads verry Rough, numbers of wagon broken Down
enCamped on the field Some two miles of the manchester Pike Tenn June 28 1863 This morning is verry Disagreeable. Still continues to Rain Roll call at 6 oclock We Recived orders to march in the direction of manchester We arrived we at the above name town at 9 oclock Breakfasted pitked tens. Baviocked for the night" general Reynolds Division of the 14th Army Corpse Haveing enter the town Previous
Camp Manchester tennessee Monday June 29th 1863
This morning unsally pleasant Rollcall at 7 oclock earley A. M. we resume our march for tullahony all the teams are sent back to murfreesboro for provis We advance a few miles we meet a Squadron of federal cal with some pris Said to be Some Braggs escort they were as motly crew as I ever Saw at 4 oclock we go into into Camp Rather Disagreeable to night all in fine Spirits
Camp Before tullahony Tennessee Tuesday June 30 1863
this morning Rollcall at the usual hour. Still Raining Verry heavy today the Rebel forces Evacuated tullahony last night He Genrl. Bragg abadoned his Strong position Rather in order heaveing ervery that that couldnt Be carryed in the fight the Stores he left being few Boxes of tobaco two Siege pices or heavy ordinance our forces are in close persuit heavy canondeing in the direction of elk River Major Genrl Sherridan divisin was the first to Enter the town third Brigade Bradleys 42 Ills & 51 Ills Infantry
Camp at Tullahony Tennessee Wednesday July 1st 1863
this morning the sun Rose clear and beautiful Roll call at 4 oclock A. M. the enemy are in full Retreat our pressing thier rear gard verry closly We recvd orders to march At 6 oclock exceedingly Hot[1] and there are Some grumbling on acct of Short Rations of bread
Camp before tullahony tennessee Thusday July 2d 1863
nothing New from the front Rollcall at 4 oclock Recive orders to march a Immediately to the front. We march to Elk River go into camp at 5 oclk verry warried
Camp at Elk River Tennessee Friday July 3d 1863
nothing new from the front at 7 oclock we Resume the march for the front Slowly the clavalry captured quite a number of prisoners we pass through winchester from thence to winchester to Cowens Station We Biavcked for

[1]For movements in this neighborhood see War Records, Series I., vol. XXIII., Part I., pp. 414, 423, 519-520.

the night all in fine Spirits Half Rations of Bread We have permission to night to kill all the meat we want two beond the Swine General Slaughter in all and Round camp Its Dangerous all About Here all quiet
Campt at Cowen Stations Tennessee Saturday July 4 1863
Heavy Rains falling this morning the troops Remained in camp to day there was a National fired by the various batteries all pass off Verry cheering
Camp at Cowens Station Tennessee Sunday July 5 1863
this morning is unusually pleasant Rollcall verry promptly at 4 oclock A. M. Still in Camp heavy Detail to Blackbury from the various Regiments
Camp at Cowen Station Tennessee Monday July 6 1863
this morning Verry wet Still Raining roll call at 5 oclock there at detail from C 10 for Pickett the engineers commenced to construct the rail road bridge this morning Verry little work will Repair the Bridge at this point
Camp at Cowens Station Tennessee Tuesday July 7 1863
It has been clear, and beautiful this ofrenoon news of the Surrender of Vicksburg Reached Here this afternoon great enthusiam in camp" We Recived the News while on pickett Post this is decidedly one of the greatest Victories of the war.
Camp H Cowens Station Wednesday July 8th 1863
Heavy Rains falling this morning Verry disagreeable rollcall at 5/2 oclck We were intersepted at the dawn of day the Roar of cannon we soon accertain what Invoges a Salute of 36 guns are fired in honor of the fall of Vicksburg also for general Meads Success at gatyburg Pennsylvania
Camp at Cowens Station tennessee Thursday July 9th 1863.
the son. rose clear and bright this morning rollcall at 5½ we recived orders ot march at 9 oclock to the front our march was verry Slow In consequence of to high mountains hot weather and rough Roads We arrive at the university at two oclock go into camp
Camp at university Cumberland Mountain tenn Friday July 10 1863
It Has cleared off beautiful Rollcall at 5½ C. B & A pickett marching orders Recived get ready to march Immediately to the front as usual to we march in the Direction of Battle clreek toward Bridge front we go into camp at 11 oclock half rations of bread the Brigade Butchers go to killing Some Beef for purpose to Sustain life

July[1] 9th State of tennesse

This morning Our bregade tooke the advanCe to Clime the Mountai the day is very hott and dry the Men is very thirsty and water is Scarse at 5 oCloCk we arive at university of the South uhear the Corner Stone of the Suthern ConfedreCy was laid the Sumer of 61 it is a plesant plaCe fine Springs the boys all went to gethering huCkle bery till night the foure right Compnys went on piCket

Friday July 10th 1863 this morning we resume Our MarCh till 12 oCloCk when we inCamp for the night the road has bin very bad on a Count of the mud the regment is Still on half rations of bred and meat no Coffee nor Sugar and the meat was piCked up whever it Could be found

Saturday July 11th 1863

Still oCkipie the Camp on the Mountains 8 Companys of the left wing are on duty to day Clearing out the road down the Mountin that had bin timber falling by the retreating enyme the day post off quietly the Sun was bright and Clear nothing else of importanCe to day

Sunday July 12th 1863

Returned[2] to Camp last night completely worn out after having marched up and down the mountain on a reconortering expedition we pushed our reconisance as far a big Blue Spring nothing of importance hapened to day the boys scouting the contry in search of berrys & forage jenerly

[1] The handwriting changes again. This time it is the same as that of Dec. 25, 1862 to Feb. 3, 1863.
[2] The handwriting changes. From here to the end it resembles very much the handwriting at the beginning of the diary.

July 13th Monday Morning

Ordered to move at twelve oclock The time arrives order countermanded Noth occurs worthy of not to day our camp is situated about one quarter of a mile west of where John A Murrel commited one among the many Atrocous Murders that he commited in his carreer here he Murdered his man and threw him over a fightful pressipice

Tuesday Morning 4th

Ordered to move Camp back to University Springs thee Brigade took up its line of March at eigh oclock

Arrived there at twelve the the twenty seventh was ordered on Picket at half past two oclock chain guard around camp

Wednesday July the 15

Relieved from Picket at seven oclock come to camp found Captain Williams there just returned from a leave off absence to the North of twenty five days

Dispatches received from General Rosecrance

Post hudson Surrendered seven thousand prisinors

Thursday th16

Spend the day in camp nothing of importance hapens to day weather warm

Friday July th17

Reales at five oclock visited the corner Stone of the great University of the laid in eighteen sixty it has been broken open and the relicts taken out reported to have been done by the soldiers but it is jenerly believed that the citizens of this part wer conserned in it

Camp on the Mountan Saturday July 18th

On Picket this morning. Capt Johnson of the 22 is Officer of the day weather very warm University is getting be verry dry nothing going on to interest the most curious

Camp on the Mountain

Sunday th19 Spend the in Camp nothing of interest hapens to day no News from abroad the Camp is full of citizs

Camp on the Mountain Monday the 20

Revalee this morning and the usual number of citizens in Camp pedling berries vegetables &c"

Tuesday July th 21st

Relievde this morning by five companys of forty second at seven oclock return to camp Rovert Mayo came up to camp this morning from University The Payrools are being maid out to some prospect of geting pay soon

Wednesday the22

Nothing to relieve the monotony of camp bought a bottle of Wine last night to quench my thirst & drank it with my friend Foote poor stuff vinegar and water threw part of it away puting in the day eating and sleeping

Thursday July the 23d

Reavalee at five as usual much the same rotene of duties as usual one Oclock P. M. Companys A & B ordered to Tracyville they leave at two

Friday July 24

Camp on the Mountain sixteen boys captured last night in the cave by the Provost Guard Col Miles went over to Head Quarters and released them

Saturday July 25 Camp on the Mountain

Got up as usual this morning thought I got up right end first but I have lost a day some where must have been asleep What I have written for yesterdays transactions happened today

the Colonel sentenced those fellows caught in the cave to perform on tour of fatigue

Sunday the 26 of July

On Picket this morning on the Tracyville road citizen coming in continually with produce to sell some citizen want to pass our lines to day giving as their reason the presance of Rebels at Tracyville

Monday July th 27th
Regiment relieved this morning comes in hungry & tired as usual went to the waterfall bothe this Evening beautiful took a most delightful bath & returned to camp had to run the Pickets to obtain this luxiary
Tuesday the 28th
Dispatches arrived in Camp last night of the Capture of John Morgan and all of his command this glorious news nothing els of importance hapens to day
Wednesday July the 29
Camp on the Mountain Idle this morning twelve oclock M. D. this Reg. is geting payed this Evening Ordered to march at four oclock to morrow Morning destination unknown
Thursday July 30th
Camp on the Mountain Started at dayling this Morning across the mountain camped at big Blue Springs for diner marched on seven miles some rain roads slipery and mudy camped on Battle Creek
Friday the 31st
Took up our line of at daylight marching one mile when the sruck the Tennisee River Continue on down under the Mountain to Bridgeport Ala a distance of seven miles from our last Camp We found two regiments of the second Brigade here and lots of reb's on the other side of the Tennisee
August th 1st
Bridgeport Alabama
Saturday morning spend the in fiting up camp erecting Bowers over our shelter tents and Policing our Quarters
Weather uncommonly hot an sultry
Aug" the 3rd
Reveale at five oclock this morning the boys still engaged in fixing their shelters
Today is fraught with interest to myself and other of our company it being the second anaversary of our commensment of service I am looking with anxious eyes to one more My the time spedily roll round and with it peace to our once happy Country Look on the next page incident of the 2 over
Bridgeport Alabama
Aug the 2d
The second Brigade returns to Stevison to day the first Brig" is to take their place and Brigadier Jen. Lytel will take command of the Post
Tuesday Aug th
Tuesday Aug 3d
Nothing of importa transpires to day weather hot and sultry the boys have spirited conversations with the rebs across the river the fourth and ninth Mississippi are doing picket duty for the rebs
Wednesday Aug th 5 th
Realee at four oclock this Morning Much the usual rotene of dutys to day weather hot Bridgeport dusty and lonesome
Thursday Aug. the 6 th
Rool call at the usal hour two hot to enjoy life nothing but laying under our shanties lolling some rain this evening cools the air some
Friday Aug th 7th
Mornings the pleasantst part of the day the company divided into three Messes to day Two oclock P M Gen. Rosecrans and Staff visits Bridgeport this evening the old gentleman looks odd in his citizen dress and chip hat

Camp at Bridgeport Alabama

Saturday August the 8 th

Morning dawns with its usual fog and chilley air this is certainly the most detestable place for fogs I ever saw Mornings damp with fog and stinking air from decaying Vegetation and ajacent Slaughter pens

Sunday August the 9th

The usual rotene of roll call and policeing company grounds Nothing of interest untill the Mail comes in we have things a little more like living here now two trains a day and an occasional visit from Rosey" and Phill A flag of truce has gone over to day I have not been able to learn the object

Monday August th 10 th

Nothing of interest this morning I have to resort to evry stratagy to pass away time pipes and tobacco cards and whisky are the jeneral resort of the soldier (the later is rather scarse here)

Tuesday August the 11 th

Everything after the old style spleepless nights uneasy days plenty of grub no appetite to eat it time pass briskly notwithstanding the Monotony

Wednesday Aug th 12

Rool call at the usual hour breakfast over comense trying to kill time work some read a litle take a strole around camp give it up as a bad job and go to sleep

Camp Roberts Bridgeport Alabama

Thursday August th 13 th

Picket at seven oclock this morning threatens rain two oclock heavy showers a tremendus gale from the North east come darned near blowing us away wet & cold the rest of the rest of day

Friday th 14

Relieved at seven go to camp have more Idea what to do to day than a man in the Moon expect to putin the day sleeping and eating expect to get to lazy to do that if I stay hear much longer

Saturday Aug th 15 th

Was wakedup up last night by a shot from the boys pets out on the river bank others folowed in quick succession making me crawl out of by nest to see what the fraction was found after geting my eys open that the rebs had fired the part of the bridge in their possession and Hotlars boys thinking they wer starting on a journey gave them a parting salute Inspection of arms in the company grounds by the Colo.

Sunday th 16th

Clouds look oninous rains a little this morning none worth mentioning Twelve oclock a flag of truce comes over this morning to make arangements for the rebel Generals Andersons mother to go to her friends she being inside of our lines

Camp Roberts Bridgeport

Aug th 17 th

Monday Morning Revalee at the usual hour camp cleared proceed to the duties of the day which prove to be much the same as usual

Tuesday Aug" th 18 th

Morning finds us still in the same hole strugling to live with no perceavable purpus in view if you should Judghe from apearance But in good time perhaps our object will be better seen

Wednesday Aug th 19 th

Every thing quiet this morning things begin to look like mooveing get orders today to pack our Knapsacks and send them to Stevison for storage every man has to be provided with an extra pair of shoes this looks like ther's was marching in store for us let it come for every one is tired of this place

Thursday August th 20 th

Flag of truce over this morning culd not learn what was the object time passs dull enough Noth new only a little chat with escort that came with the flag

Friday Aug th 21 st

Revalee and roll call breakfast over we prepared for Picket rains lightly twelve oclock skys clear up looks more propitions Rosey" Visits the Post to day makes a speech to the boys prolongd cheering shows the confidence the feel in their leader

Camp Roberts Bridgeport ala

Saturday Augst th 22 nd

Relieved from Picket this morning rebs left us alone in our glory last night they never so much as bid us good bye when they started well let them go we will visit them shortly

Sunday th 23 d

Nothing transpires to interest the most curious this is dry work keeping diary in such a place as this I am almost tempted to do some thing desperate for the sake of a chang guess I wont however untill I see what turns up

Monday Aug" th 24 th

All quiet to day within hearing of the place

Tuesday Aug" the 25 th

All going as usual this morning weather hot and dry this has been the case for several days some heavy guns fireing up the river

Wednesday Aug the 26

Revalle sounds at the usual hour the same rotene of duty heavy fireing towards Chattamooga Seargeant Braiden of Col. D" died last night is buried at twelve oclock to day with the the honers of war peace to his remains

Camp Roberts Bridgeport Ala"

Thursday Aug th 27 th

Revalee and roll call at the usual hour breakfast over camp to police nothing to do time drags heavaly on my hands no news———

Friday Aug th 28 th

Regiment on detail to day geting out bridge timbers we got out one hundred and fifty stcks blistered my hands all over shant be able to lay in bed I am a fraid some pontoons arrived to night

Saturday Aug th 29 th

Revalee at the usual hour detail gone foragelng this morning—night closes around us and I prepare to retire without having heard anything to excite my curiosity

Sunday Aug th 30 th

Roll call at four oclock The first Reg" of Michigan Fusaliers are puting up the bridge to day

Monday Aug th 31 st

Nothing past common to record to day More pontoons came in last night the bridge is progressing finely two thirds completed this evening

Camp Roberts Bridgeport

Tuesday September th 1 st

Revalee at four oclock Picket at eight have a pleasant day on Picket the bridge is progressing finely almost finished Nothing of interes happens to day

Wednesday Sept" the 2 ond

Relieved at eight oclock go to camp get orders to get ready to march at one oclock at one we are marched out in line but the bridge not being completed we wer basted about an hour in the hot sun all things being ready we take up our line march for dixey march six miles camped for the night in Hog Jaw Cave the bridge fell whilst our train was crossing No casualitys

Thursday Sept th 3 d

Lying in camp waiting for Negleys division to get up the Mountain they haveing come in from the crossing below and come up the Cave

Friday Sept th 4 th

Still laying here waiting twelve oclock on the march Commence climbing the Mountain one hour finds us on top of Rackcoon Mountain one mile from the top campt for night

Saturday Sep th 5 th

Crossed the Mountain desending in to lookout valley camped near Trenton at a beautiful Spring

Sunday Morning Sep" the 6 th

Camp near trenton Georgia Started on our march at twelve ocloc passed Trenton going seven miles up the Valley camp for the brig three miles from an Iron mine the works of which have just been put up and have fallen inot our hands

Monday September 7 th

Orders to ready to at daybreak we pass Negly camped in a beautiful valley two miles in advance of our camp after passing him marched to the front too miles camped for the night country rich produce abundant

Tuesday th 8 th

Lay in camp to day nothing of importance hapens Men feasting on the fat of the land who blams them

Wednesday Sep the 9 th

Still laying in camp no news worth recording this morning four oclock News of the occupation of Chattanoog Jeneral Rosecrans attends mass in the Cathedral of that place

Thursday September th 10 th

March at five oclock hot and dusty we join the rest of our Corpse it haveing gone to the right after crossing the river after joining the corps we camp on the mountain

Friday September the 11 th

On the march early this morning we pass down the mountain camped at Alpine Georgia We hear that Cattanooga is evacuated it took place on the eighth our forces taking possession on the ninth we left our train yesterday hastening to the fron hopeing to intercept Bragg

Saturday Sept the 12 th

Alpine Georgia

The Regiment Ordered on Picket this morn all quiet in front the country abounds in corn potatoes Beans &c Broomcorn valley is on the most firtile valleys in the state abounding in all the productions of the south

Sunday the 13 th Alpine Geo.

Called in from Picket marched to the foot of the Mountain but it being so thronged we wer obliged to wait until three oclock at three we comensed the ascent halted on the top at sundown after the Battries gained the top of the Mountain we again resumed our March proceeded two miles forward & camped for the night

Monday September 14 th

Broke camp at daylight find ourselves marching over the same raod we wer hured over two days ago where our destination no one has the remotes conception we cross the Mountain again repassing Valley hea before twelve M. D. Camped for the in Lookout Valley

Tuesday September the 15 th

Lay in camp untill noon Moove camp to the foot of the Mountain not of important hapens to day weather dry and dusty

Wednesday September the 16 th

We comense the toilsome ascent of Lookout Mountain this morning at day break it took most of the forenoon to make the ascent it being so steep that the teams wer not able to haul the Guns it was accomplished

by attaching roaps to the peacies and placing Men to the guns this severe duty was preformed after days of hard marching without a Murmur We camp to night in Chattanooga Vally it is quite rich and well supplied with forage for Man and beast

Chattamooga Valley Sep the 17

The Enimy reported advancing this morning Eleven oclock form a line of battle some Canonading on the left a great battle ininent

Friday September the 18 "

Our train arrives at the foot of the mountain this Evening we are train Guards we commence our line of march at Evening halt at Midnight within ten miles of Crawfish Springs. Thomas has some fighting to day the enimy are trying to cut us off from Chattanooga

Saturday September the 19 "

Drew two days rations and commensed our march at eight oclock we had not advanced but a short distance when we heard heavy and continuous musketry in our front and on our right Davis & Thomas wer engageing the Enimy who was using Means to interpos his forces between us & Chatanooga presantly we are ordered forward double quick[1] Now now the tumult of battle rages within three hundred yards of where we are passing clouds of dust almost choke us as we hury to the front amid the confusion of booming ratling Musketry & Orderlys fying in every direction we arrive at crawfish spring here we find Negleys superb division standing in battle array as cool as thoug they did not expect shortly to be engaged in the bloody strife here we are ordere to halt & gallant Colonel Bradley formed our brigade on the right of Neglys Division the second brigade comming up at this is also formed in to column and stack their arms to replenish their canteens and take breath after double quicking eight miles through Dust almost Knee deep soon we are ordered closer to the seen of action and take position in the timber about a half a mile to the right of Gordons Mills & about three quarters from the Battlefield We have barly time to rest our weried limbs until we are ordered to canghe our position the enimy are threatening our right we form on the extream right and explore the ground in front of us ascertaining that from the nature of the groung we have nothing to fear from an attack in this direction we had just began to make our selves comfortable when the News comes to Sheridan that they are pushing our Men back quicker than thought the old third Brigade is Mooved a few hundred yards to the left and ordered in to the fight with the second Brigade for support A brigade of Woods division give way just as we goin leaveing a battery exposed to the enimy they are not slow to discover the advantage and make a rush for the isolated Batterrie but they have reckoned without their host we to have an eye on that battery and go for it double quick just in time to save. We arrive at the battery while the rebels are seventy five yards of poring a volley in to them that makes them waver we drop to the ground not a moment to soon for a volley from the Rebs sends a sheet of led flying ove that no man could have lived in but the soon fond who they had to contend with and left us in possession of the field after dragging off our Battirri that had been left by the troops engaged when we com in we took from the field and peturened to its commander and received his hearty thanks then selecting an advantage position we fell back a few rods and prepared to hold the ground for the night after making enquiries on casualities wer

[1] Compare the reports of Colonel Miles, Colonel Walworth, and Major General Sheridan, War Records, Series, I., vol. XXX., Part II., pp. 596, 594, 579 respectively.

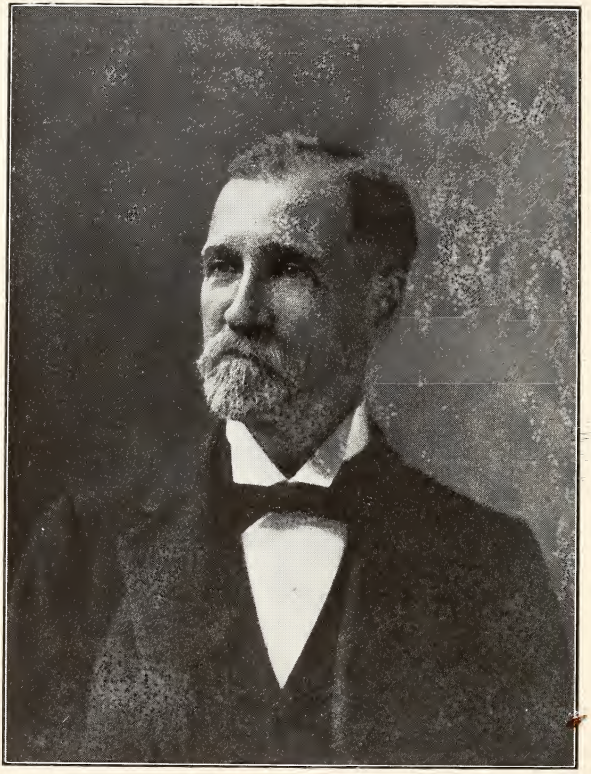
fond to be 300 in thirty minutes we laid on the field in Battle array all night the most of us without Blankets the night as very cold a tremendous heavy frost falling Morning at last comes[1]

[1]The diary ends here. The further history of the 27th Illinois volunteer regiment is comparatively simple. It took part, among other engagements, in the battles of the Atlanta Campaign: Rocky Faced Ridge, Resaca, Adairsville, Pine Top Mountain, Mud Creek, Kenesaw Mountain, Peach Tree Creek and in the skirmishes around Atlanta." On the 25th of August, 1865, it was relieved from duty at the front by the order of General Thomas, and ordered to Springfield, Ill., for muster-out. On its arrival at Springfield, it showed the following record of casualties: killed or died of wounds, 102; died of disease, 80; number of wounded, 328; discharged and resigned, 209." T. M. Eddy, The Patriotism of Illinois, II., p. 55.

At the conclusion of the diary there is a poem of three stanzas and on the following page the name of Martha Crippen.

PART V.

In Memoriam.



George N. Black.

GEORGE NELSON BLACK.

By Jessie Palmer Weber.

To the Illinois State Historical Society there are a few names which will be enrolled among the list of its immortals. Their children and grandchildren will die, their names will be heard no more on the streets, in the church, in their places of business, but when the history of this society is written or read, these names must be among the first as the fathers and founders of the society. If this society should die, another would be founded and in writing the history of the new endeavor they would be obliged to tell of other attempts to build up an historical society for the State of Illinois, and as we tell of John M. Peck, James Hall, Cyrus Edwards and others, who were our predecessors in the field of State history, so future workers would be obliged to tell of the work and efforts of Hiram Williams Beckwith, Dr. John F. Snyder, David McCulloch, J. H. Burnham and George Nelson Black.

I wish to offer today a few words of appreciation of that good and modest man, that loyal friend, that generous and indulgent husband and father, George Nelson Black.

Those of us who worked in close relation to Mr. Black know how near to his heart was the interest of the Historical Library and the Historical Society. During the wearing and wearying days of his last illness he never lost interest in their work. The Society owes a debt of gratitude to him which will never be forgotten or repaid.

George Nelson Black was born in Berkshire county, Mass., March 15, 1833, the son of Wm. M. Black and Persis Fuller Black. He was on his mother's side of the family, a descendant of John Alden, and of Dr. Samuel M. Fuller, both of whom came over in the Mayflower. His grandfather, Captain James Black, was a native of Scotland, but came to America, previous to, and served the colonies as a captain in the War of the Revolution, and was commissary general of the State of New York, through the later years of the struggle for independence.

It is claimed that the government made large grants of land to this Capt. James Black, in the vicinity of the city of Albany, New York, to which the family have never been able to acquire title. George N. Black studied in such schools as there were in his native village in Massachusetts, and he has often told me of sweeping out the school rooms in the old academy, where he received instruction. He also said he rang the

school bell, and that as long as he lived a peculiar tone in a church or institution bell would bring back vividly to his mind the tone of the old bell of the academy. He was in after years able to give substantial gifts to the old town of his boyhood.

When about 15 years of age, he came West to Vandalia, Illinois, where his older brother and sister had already settled, and where the brother, Wm. Black, was conducting a general store. George N. Black immediately began his mercantile career, by clerking in his brother's store. Vandalia had already begun to lose its importance as a center of business. Ten years before Mr. Black went there the capital had been removed to Springfield, and many business and professional men had followed it, including the newspaper, the *State Register,* so in October, 1850, Mr. Black came with the family of his sister to Springfield. He procured a position as a clerk in the general store of Col. John Williams at $15.00 per month. He remained a clerk for Colonel Williams for six years and then, though very young, he was admitted as a partner in the business. He said he tried to think how he could take more interest and do more work when he became a member of the firm, but he was unable to do so, as he had thrown all his energy into the service of the business as a clerk, he was unable to take more interest when it became in part his own business. This business connection was continued for a quarter of a century and was very profitable.

Mr. Black was soon very much interested in his adopted city, and the State of Illinois. He said that he soon became a veritable "Sucker" and while he loved New England and her traditions, Illinois and Springfield were home to him. He had great and abiding faith in the future of Springfield.

When a very young man he lived for a time as a neighbor to Abraham Lincoln, and while he had no remarkable Lincoln stories to tell, he always spoke of Mr. Lincoln's kindness to and interest in him. He had a great admiration for the character of Mr. Lincoln, and he made a study of the mass of literature written about him. He was like Mr. Lincoln, very fond of poetry, and he often recited Mr. Lincoln's favorite poem "Oh why should the Spirit of Mortal be Proud," and he would say "who would not admire those noble and melancholy lines." In the Historical Library he urged the collection of Lincolniana, but sometimes objected to pictures, such as lithographs or chromos which were poor art and poor taste, though he would usually consent to such pictures having a place in the collection on the ground that it was the object of the library to collect everything good or bad that related to Mr. Lincoln. He had a great admiration for another favorite poem of Mr. Lincoln's, Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard."

He was not a story teller, in the sense that many of his contemporaries were, perhaps because most of the early settlers of the community were of southern birth or ancestry, and were more given to talking and gossiping, while he with his New England training felt that he could not waste precious time in chatting, but he was a good listener and enjoyed the conversation of his friends. During the latter part of his life his office was the meeting place of a coterie of his old friends, and

while they chatted, and chaffed each other and told stories, he stood at his high old fashioned desk, always busily writing, only pausing to interject some apt, but dry remark into the flow of conversation.

George N. Black has always been spoken of as a business man, and in the sense that he was a man of affairs this is true, but he was by no means simply a business man, caring only for profit in a material way. He was a successful business man because he worked hard and studied the nature and details of the affairs in which he was engaged. The same effort, the same study would have, in another direction, made of him a successful professional man. It seems to me that he had the very qualities of mind that would have made of him an excellent teacher, but destiny or circumstance threw him early upon his own resources and he became a business man, a merchant, a manufacturer, and railroad official. In every public undertaking he took an active part. Within the last few weeks several men have said that Springfield business men lack a leader, that the younger men had depended upon a few of the older ones for mapping out campaigns, and that these older men had one by one dropped away and no one had been found to fill their places. One said, "When we had George N. Black, B. H. Ferguson, F. K. Whittemore and those men, we younger ones were willing to do the work but we depended upon them for advice." This gentleman did not realize how young Mr. Black had been when he began the leadership of which he spoke.

He was very active in assisting in bringing railroads to Springfield, and was a power in the building of the Pana, Springfield and Northwestern railroad, now the Springfield branch of the Baltimore and Ohio, and was one of its directors, and for several years the secretary of the company. He was one of the citizens of Springfield, who built the Gilman, Clinton and Springfield railroad, now the Springfield division of the Illinois Central railroad, and was a director in the company. He was also one of the most important movers in building the Springfield and Northwestern railroad, and operated the road for some years as receiver and general manager until it became a part of the Wabash system. He also was a director and one of the promoters of the St. Louis, Peoria and Northern railroad which has since become a part of the Chicago and Alton system. Thus it is seen that his activities along the line of railroad building, the principal means of development of the country, have been unexcelled by any other citizen of Springfield. He believed that a town must encourage this work to attain any prosperity and growth. In 1861, he was appointed by Mr. Lincoln receiver of the United States Land Office at Springfield, which office he filled for sixteen years.

He was for many years the owner and operator of extensive coal mines, and was very enthusiastic in regard to the development of the Sangamon county and Central Illinois coal fields, and he was associated with nearly all of the important business enterprises, of the town between 1865 and 1898 or later, a period of more than thirty years. It is not possible for me to estimate the value of Mr. Black's services and influence in the upbuilding of Springfield. A gentleman who knew Mr. Black for years,

said, "When Geo. N. Black was in health, I would rather have had him for me than all the other local leaders combined, either on a business or a political proposition."

Many instances of his influence and untiring energy for the good of the capital city may be mentioned, the more important of which are the location of the State Fair, the remodeling of the Lincoln monument, the organization and founding of our beautiful park system, and the organization and management of the city library, and his interest in the Bettie Stuart Institute. Mr. Black was active in politics, and was an ardent Republican. He was chairman of the county central committee for many years, but he was not an office-seeker. The position of receiver of the land office already mentioned, and that of member of the city council, were the only public positions which he ever held, but he was a valued and influential leader for many years in the councils of his party in this State.

By these instances of his business life will be seen that untiring industry and perseverance were the chief characteristics of George N. Black, but there were other sides to the nature of this modest man. The son of an old Vandalia friend wrote to Mr. Black within the last few years, and in the letter said: "Very well do I remember the long walks over the prairies and bluffs which you and I and my father used to take, especially on pleasant Sundays. I remember, too, how you used to carry me when I grew tired, and how you showed me the flowers and told me the names of many of them, and pointed out the birds and the squirrels to me, and helped me to make whistles." This was when Mr. Black was himself only a boy or a very young man. I think his love of reading developed very early for he said when reading Andrew Carnegie's account of his own thirst for books, that he believed that nearly all poor American boys had suffered those pangs and resolved to help other boys to have books to read. At any rate he became a real book lover. He did not care to skim through a book and throw it aside and never see it again. A good book was to him a friend and he loved to buy and own books. He had a large private library, which contained some very rare volumes. He was a lover of pictures, too, and he gave a good deal of time to the study of artists and their work, and owned a number of rare paintings and etchings.

He was appointed in 1897 by Gov. John R. Tanner a member of the board of trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, and he at once threw himself into the work of the Library with his accustomed energy and began working in the field of State history, a taste for which had been growing in his mind for some years, and it continued to grow and bear fruit, and until his death there was hardly a day during which he did not give some part of his time to the affairs of the Library. He was one of the founders of the Illinois State Historical Society, and signed the call for the meeting at Champaign in May, 1899, out of which grew the organization of the Society. He read a paper at the first annual meeting of the Society, held at Peoria, in January, 1900. In November, 1906, he met with a serious accident, a fall over the banisters in the

high stairway of his residence. He was badly injured, and it was thought at first, fatally, but he recovered to some extent and lived a number of months, but did not regain his health.

These, then, as I have said, were some of the activities of the busy life of the man, George Nelson Black, but there was the social and domestic life. In physique he was very slender, almost frail looking, but he was very wiry and had most excellent health up to two or three years before his death. He worked so hard and he had worked so long that he did not know how to rest, and so in spite of warnings by his physicians, his family and his friends, he kept in the harness until the serious accident already mentioned occurred.

He had dark blue and very expressive eyes, which always showed his emotions. His hair was a very dark brown, nearly black, and he had a particularly winning smile. He was orderly in all his work, very systematic and painstaking, but exceedingly conservative. He did not readily take up with new ideas, especially in literature. He was very quiet, although a good and interesting talker upon topics in which he was interested. In 1859 he was married to Miss Louisa Iles Williams, the daughter of his employer and partner, Col. John Williams, and they founded a beautiful home. Here Mr. Black stored his books and his pictures, planted his flowers and shrubs, and made of his house and grounds things of beauty. To them were born four children, two of whom survive, a son and a daughter, John Williams Black and Anna Louise, the wife of Dr. George F. Stericker. The youngest child, George, was drowned while swimming in the lake at his school, Shattuck College, Faribault, Minn. This promising boy was about 13 years of age, and his tragic death was a shock from which his parents never recovered. George N. Black had his faults — who of us has not? — but he was an honest man, a good citizen, a more than ordinarily loyal friend, and he was charitable. For many years he made a practice of visiting all his friends, rich or poor, who were in affliction. He was for many years a member of the congregation of the First Presbyterian Church of Springfield, and was an officer of the church. After his illness he was confirmed in the Episcopal Church, of which his family were members. He died April 22, 1908, and was buried in beautiful Oak Ridge cemetery nearly under the shadow of the tomb of the great Lincoln, whom he had so loved and admired.

When we sum up what it is that makes a good citizen, it is the attempt to do one's part in upbuilding and promoting the interest along righteous lines of the community of which one is a part. Mr. Black did his duty, and did it well. What makes a religious man? To do right by your fellow man, to visit the sick and the poor, to give of your store, be it much or little. This he did in a full measure and without ostentation. He had those virtues which make the life of a people. He was industrious; he had a purpose in life from which he was never diverted. He was hospitable and he was kind. By his fidelity to every trust, by his love for his family and his friends, he won the respect of the people with whom he lived, and he achieved that measure of success that comes to those who do well their part.

"You may be tiller of the soil, or toiler by the day,
Remember then he does the best, the best in every way
Who has a single aim in view, determined from the start
In whatso'er he shall pursue, to truly do his part
Though doctor, lawyer, teacher, priest, learn this command by heart
They never fail but all succeed who simply do their part."

RECOLLECTIONS OF GEORGE N. BLACK BY MR. GAIUS PADDOCK, AN OLD FRIEND.

My first acquaintance with Mr. George N. Black was in the early '50s—am not quite sure but think it was 1851; at that time he entered the employ of Col. John Williams, who was the leading merchant in Springfield. It was not long before his business talent and his many attractive qualities gave him a prominent place in the growing business of Col. Williams and in the leading industries in the city of Springfield, filling many positions of trust. His superior financial ability justly entitled him to the consideration of the banking interests of the city.

He appeared to grasp the opportunities and the conditions which surrounded the business problems quickly and with correct judgment, and he gained the confidence and respect of the leading citizens. It was not long before he won the most favored and gifted of Springfield's daughters, Miss Louisa I. Williams, the eldest daughter of Col. John Williams, whose many accomplishments and winning graces made the home life most delightful, in the beautiful place he provided for his family.

It is not often that a business career of over fifty years, amid the changes that occur, requiring sound judgment with faith in the future, should remain throughout the entire period free from any stain or tarnish of selfishness or greed. Mr. Black's memory will long remain with us for fair and honorable dealing, and his loss will be felt by the many associates with whom he was closely endeared.

I cannot close this brief tribute to Mr. Black's memory without referring to the guiding hand that shaped the successful career of many young men—Col. John Williams, who was ever foremost in all the enterprises that made Springfield what it is,—one of the pioneer merchants who did more than any man to build up the city and develop the many industries here located.

It was my good fortune to serve for a short time as a summer clerk in this store, and whatever success has come to me I attribute the larger part to his guiding hand and counsel. He was ever glad and willing to help the young men to sow the seeds of good business habits, of honesty, integrity, and economy.

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